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HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

From the Earliest Times to 1880.

BY

ALFRED RAMBAUD,

CHIEF OF THE CABINET OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND FINE ARTS, AT PARIS;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF
ST. PETERSBURG; ETC., ETC.

THIS WORK HAS BEEN CROWNED BY THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

TRANSLATED BY L. B. LANG.

EDITED AND ENLARGED BY NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

INCLUDING

A HISTORY OF THE TURKO-RUSSIAN WAR OF 1877-78,
FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, BY THE EDITOR.

FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

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CATHERINE THE SECOND: GOVERNMENT AND REFORMS.

1762-1796.

THE HELPERS OF CATHERINE THE SECOND: THE GREAT LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION (1766-1768).—ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE: COLONIZATION.—PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—LETTERS AND ARTS.—THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHERS.

THE HELPERS OF CATHERINE THE SECOND: THE GREAT LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION.

CATHERINE THE SECOND surrounded herself with distinguished fellow-workers, some of whom were her lovers. In the early part of her reign, the influence of the Orlofs was predominant: these were Gregory Orlof, the favorite above all others, grand master of the artillery, by whom she had a recognized son, Alexis, created Count Bobrinski; Alexis Orlof, the admiral, who received the name of Tchesmenski after the expedition to the Archipelago, and was involved in the tragic history of the Princess Tarankof; Feodor Orlof, who became procurator-general of the senate; Vladimir Orlof, who was director of the Academy of Sciences at the age of twenty-one. A Russian writer asserts that from seventeen hundred and sixty-two to seventeen hundred and eighty-three they received forty-five thousand serfs and seventeen million rubles in money from the Empress. Later, the favor of the Orlofs was outweighed by that of Potemkin, or Patiomkin, creator of New Russia, organizer of the Crimea, conqueror of the Otto-

mans in the second war with Turkey, and who, as Prince of the Taurid, displayed his Asiatic luxury in his palace of the same name at Saint Petersburg. During the two years of his influence he received thirty-seven thousand serfs and nine million rubles, and his income in seventeen hundred and eighty-five was calculated at four hundred thousand rubles. At one of his feasts seventy thousand rubles worth of wax candles were burnt. Of all the favorites who, in the latter part of the reign, succeeded each other so rapidly, only one had any real influence over affairs. This was Platon Zubof, whose brother Valerian conducted the war with Persia. In the direction of foreign affairs were distinguished Nikita Panin, and later Bezborodko, Ostermann, Markof, and Vorontsof. Repnin and Sievers in Poland, Budberg at Stockholm, Semen Vorontsof in London, and Dmitri Galitsuin at Paris, made themselves a name in diplomacy. The army was commanded by Alexander Galitsuin, Dolgoruki, Rumiantsof, and Suvorof; the fleet by Greig, Spiridof, and Tchitchagof; Ivan Betski had charge of the fine arts and of benevolent institutions.

From seventeen hundred and sixty-six to seventeen hundred and sixty-eight, Catherine the Second assembled, first at Moscow and afterwards at Saint Petersburg, the commission for the compilation of the new code. This commission was composed of deputies from all the services of the State, from all the orders and all the races of the empire. Besides the delegates from the senate, the synod, and the colleges and the courts of police, the nobles elected a representative for each district, the citizens one for every city, the free colonists one for every province, the soldiers, militia, and other fighting men also one for each province; the Crown peasants, the fixed tribes, whether Christians or not, equally elected one for each province; the deputation of the Cossack armies was fixed by their atamans.

Six hundred and fifty-two deputies assembled at Moscow; officials, nobles, citizens, peasants, Tatars, Kalmuiki, Lapps,



DIDEROT AND CATHERINE II.

Samoyedui, and many others. Each man was to be furnished with full powers, and with instructions compiled by at least five of the electors. Each received a medal with Catherine's effigy, and the motto, "For the happiness of each and of all, December fourteen, seventeen hundred and sixty-six." They were exempted forever from all corporal punishments, and were declared inviolable during the session. In the "Instructions for the arrangement of the New Code" Catherine the Second, according to her own expression, "pillaged" the philosophers of the West, especially Montesquieu and Beccaria. "It contained," says the prudent Panin, "axioms that would knock a wall down." Catherine the Second assures Voltaire that her "Book of Instructions" was interdicted at Paris. Among the ideas of which she boasted, we meet with the following, which were certainly calculated to enrage Louis the Fifteenth: "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation. Equality consists in the obedience of the citizens to the law alone; liberty is the right to do everything that is not forbidden by law. It is better to spare ten guilty men than to put one innocent man to death. Torture is an admirable means for convicting an innocent but weakly man, and for saving a stout fellow even when he is guilty." Other maxims loudly condemned intolerance, religious persecutions, and cruel punishments.

The assembly nominated many committees, and held more than two hundred sittings. The most vexed questions were openly discussed. Nobles of the Baltic claimed their provincial rights, merchants brought forward municipal organization and all sorts of economical questions, gentlemen proposed to restrain the rights of masters, and to pronounce the pregnant words, "enfranchisement of the peasants." An assembly so numerous, so divided by the interests of classes, and of such various races, was not one, however, that could arrange a new code. It was a work almost impossible in the Russia of that period, which contained within itself so many conflicting

forces. The Empress, forced by the Turkish war to break up the assembly, expressed herself satisfied with her experiment. "The Commission for the Code has given me light and knowledge for all the empire. I know now what is necessary, and with what I should occupy myself. It has elaborated all parts of the legislation, and has distributed the affairs under heads. I should have done more had it not been for the war with Turkey, but a unity hitherto unknown in the principles and methods of discussion has been introduced." These States-general of Russia influenced the laws of Catherine the Second, as the French States-general of thirteen hundred and fifty-six, of fourteen hundred and thirteen, or of the sixteenth century, influenced the laws of Charles the Fifth, Charles the Seventh, and the later Valois.

In the course of the discussions the deputy noble Korobin proposed to suppress the rights of property over the serfs, and to leave the masters only the right of superintendence. Protasof, another deputy, then observed that "in that case nothing would remain but to set the peasant free, but that, if this was the intention of the Empress, it was necessary to proceed gradually." The Economical Society, founded, under the auspices of Catherine the Second, by the care of Gregory Orlof and other "patriots," proposed the question for public competition. A paper, dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, pronouncing for emancipation, obtained the prize, but other influences were at work to efface the recollection of this essay from the mind of the Empress. The Russian aristocracy were then little disposed to abdicate their rights, as is shown by the conversations of Princess Dashkof with Diderot, and the correspondence of Dmitri Galitsuin. Catherine confined herself to repressing the most crying abuses. The trial of Daria Saltuidof, convicted of having caused the death of forty of her servants by torture, shows to what a point slavery, which degrades the serf, could demoralize the masters. She was condemned in seventeen hundred and sixty-eight to be pub-

licly pilloried, and to perpetual imprisonment ; her memory still lives in the legends of the people. The same reasons which had caused the establishment of serfage in the time of Boris Godunof seemed to operate in favor of its continuance. Catherine the Second, in spite of a few generous impulses, finally aggravated the existing state of things. More than one hundred and fifty thousand Crown peasants were transformed into serfs of nobles, by being distributed among her favorites. In seventeen hundred and sixty-seven an edict forbade peasants to complain of their masters, who were authorized to send them at will to Siberia, or to force them to become recruits. Moreover, Catherine the Second established serfage in Little Russia, where it had hitherto had no legal existence.

ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE: COLONIZATION.

The Empress's "Council" deprived the Senate of part of its political importance ; but the latter, divided into six departments, had under its jurisdiction all the branches of the public administration. Catherine the Second attacked the custom of exactions and peculations, which was the most inveterate evil of this administration. "We consider it," says a ukas of seventeen hundred and sixty-two, "as our essential and necessary duty to declare to the people, with true bitterness of heart, that we for a long time have heard, and to-day, by manifest deeds, see to what a degree corruption has progressed in our empire, so that there is hardly an office in the government in which that divine action, justice, is not attacked by the infection of this pest. If any one asks for a place, he must pay for it ; if a man has to defend himself against calumny, it is with money ; if any one wishes falsely to accuse his neighbor, he can by gifts insure the success of his wicked designs. Many judges have transformed into a market the sacred place where they should administer justice in the name of the Almighty, using the position of judge, to

which we appointed them, expecting impartiality and disinterestedness, in such a manner as to divert to their own use the revenues accruing, and build up their own houses, and not for the service of God, the Empress, and the State. Our heart trembled when we learned that a registrar of the Government Court of Police at Novgorod found an opportunity, while receiving the oath of allegiance from my subjects, to accept from each a piece of money."

One way of securing the administration of the laws was, perhaps, to diminish the extent of the governments, which placed the seat of justice too far from the people governed. By an edict of seventeen hundred and seventy-five Catherine modified all the territorial divisions of the empire. Instead of fifteen provinces she created fifty governments, each with a population of from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand souls, and subdivided into districts of twenty thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants. Every province had its governor and its vice-governor; the governor-generals, or *namiéstniki*, were invested with authority over two or three governments. Thus Livonia, Esthonia, and Kurland had each a governor, while a governor-general had jurisdiction over the three provinces. Administration was definitely separated from justice; each governor was aided by a council of regency for administration and the police, by a chamber of finance for taxes, property, mines, the census, and by a college of provision for hospitals and public charity.

The judicial system increased the profound separation of classes. There were, in each district, district tribunals for gentlemen, civil magistrates for the townspeople, inferior justices for the free colonists and for the Crown peasants. There was nothing for the serfs of the nobles. No text of law positively authorized the repression of the most cruel seigniorial abuses; the sense of two articles of the military code had to be wrested before even the lives of agricultural slaves could be protected. To serve as courts of appeal, a supreme



SIBERIAN OF THE YAKUTSK PROVINCE

tribunal, a government magistracy, and a superior court of justice were to be found in the principal city of each division of government. All this hierarchy led to a court of final appeal in the senate. In the towns of the government there were for certain criminal causes juries which acted as justices of the peace in civil actions.

The nobility received a sort of provincial organization. In each government there existed an assembly of the nobles, which elected a marshal and other dignitaries; and as Catherine the Second could not revoke the law of Peter the Third, she obliged gentlemen to join the army by depriving those nobles of the right of suffrage in the elections who had not obtained the rank of officers, and also refused them certain prerogatives of their own order.

Special privileges were accorded to the merchants and citizens of the towns; among them were the election of their magistrates, and individual jurisdiction, and a kind of municipal self-government. The merchants were divided into three guilds: to the first belonged men with a capital of not less than ten thousand rubles; to the second, those who had at least one thousand; to the third, those with a property worth more than five hundred rubles. Below this, all the citizens were confounded in the appellation of *miéshchané*, or townsmen. In the matter of commerce and trade Catherine renounced the system of protection and surveillance adopted by Peter the Great, except in the case of cereals, the consumption of which she tried to regulate by establishing granaries for surplus stores. She finally suppressed the three colleges of mines, manufactures, and commerce.

To people the uninhabited though fertile lands of the Volga and the Ukraina, Catherine called in foreign colonists; she offered them capital to aid in their settlement, for which no interest was to be asked for the space of ten years, and exempted them from all taxes for thirty years. These colonists were chiefly Germans, the greater part from the Palati-

nate. Like Frederic the Second, she offered an asylum to the Moravians, and to all persecuted religious sects. In the province of Saratof alone she induced twelve thousand families to take up their abode, and their descendants, now very numerous, still inhabit the country, and preserve unbroken the German language and customs. In the single year of seventeen hundred and seventy-one as many as twenty-six thousand people answered her appeal. The suppression of the hetmanate of Little Russia in seventeen hundred and sixty-two, and the extinction of the sêtcha of the Zaporoshtsui, favored colonization. The Empress founded nearly two hundred new towns, many of which, as Ekaterinburg and Ekaterinoslaf, "Glory of Catherine," bore her name. They have not all prospered, but in seventeen hundred and ninety-three Pallas reckoned a population of thirty-three thousand at Saratof.

One reform projected by Peter the First and clumsily pushed forward by Peter the Third was accomplished by Catherine the Second: this was the secularization of the Church property. The number of peasants belonging to the clergy, regular as well as secular, amounted to nearly a million. The monastery of Saint Cyril, on the White Lake, possessed thirty-five thousand; that of Saint Sergius, at Troitsa, one hundred and twenty thousand. The abbots of these monasteries may be compared to the sovereign prelates, to the priest-kings on the banks of the Rhine. Catherine the Second, who was afterwards to protest so loudly against the resumption of Church property during the French Revolution, effected this important change with the greatest quietness. She formed a commission of churchmen and functionaries, who managed to carry out the operation. The property of the Church was placed under the administration of an "economical commission," charged with the collection of the revenues, in the proportion of a ruble and a half for every male peasant. The monasteries, thus converted from proprietors to Crown-pensioners, were indemnified according to their importance, and

were divided into three classes. Their surplus revenues were applied to the foundation of ecclesiastical schools, homes for invalids, and hospitals.

Catherine the Second wrote to Voltaire an account of the work of the commission in compiling the code. "I think you will be pleased by this assembly, where the orthodox man is to be found seated between the heretic and the Mussulman, all three listening to the voice of an idolater, and all four consulting how to render their conclusion palatable to all." This was the restoration of religious tolerance in Russia, after the reign of the pious Elisabeth. In the provinces taken from Poland, a natural reaction from the Polish system obtained many converts to orthodoxy; in the latter years of the reign they amounted to one million five hundred thousand souls. Catherine the Second was so far from persecuting the Catholics, that she allowed the Jesuits, notwithstanding the suppression of their order by Pope Clement the Fourteenth, to purchase the right of existence in White Russia. She authorized the Volga Tatars to rebuild their mosques, and thus checked the Mussulman emigration which had been provoked by Elisabeth's severity. The raskolniki were protected, reassured, and freed from the double tax imposed on them by Peter the Great, and the "bureau" of the raskolniki was suppressed.

The population of the empire increased during this reign to forty millions, but it was still far too small to cultivate the vast plains. One great obstacle to the multiplication of inhabitants has always been the want of hygiene, the lack of doctors, the absence of all assistance from science, and the mortality of children, which offsets the fruitfulness of marriages. Catherine the Second did everything that could be done at that period. She encouraged the study of medicine, sent for foreign physicians, founded a "department of the College of Pharmacy" at Moscow, and helped to build manufactories of surgical instruments. In seventeen hundred and sixty-nine,

when she was forty years old, she introduced inoculation into Moscow, and vanquished the popular outcry by being herself the first subject. She desired Dimsdale, the Englishman, to inoculate her as well as her son by Gregory Orlof. The senate presented her with twelve gold medals in honor of the occasion, and the hall of the senate-house at Moscow was ornamented with a bas-relief, with the inscription, "She saved others to the danger of herself." "Dr. Dimsdale," says Andreif, "received a fee of ten thousand pounds for the operation, an annual pension of five hundred pounds, and the title of Baron. The little boy, Markof, who furnished the matter, was made an hereditary noble." This was at the time that small-pox carried off Louis the Fifteenth and the children of the King of Spain. "That is very strange," writes Catherine to Voltaire; and again, "More people have been inoculated here in one month than have been inoculated in Vienna in a year." Even the natives of Siberia recognized the benefits of the new invention, but the Mussulmans, the raskolniki, and part of the Russian people energetically held themselves aloof from it.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—LETTERS AND ARTS.—THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHERS.

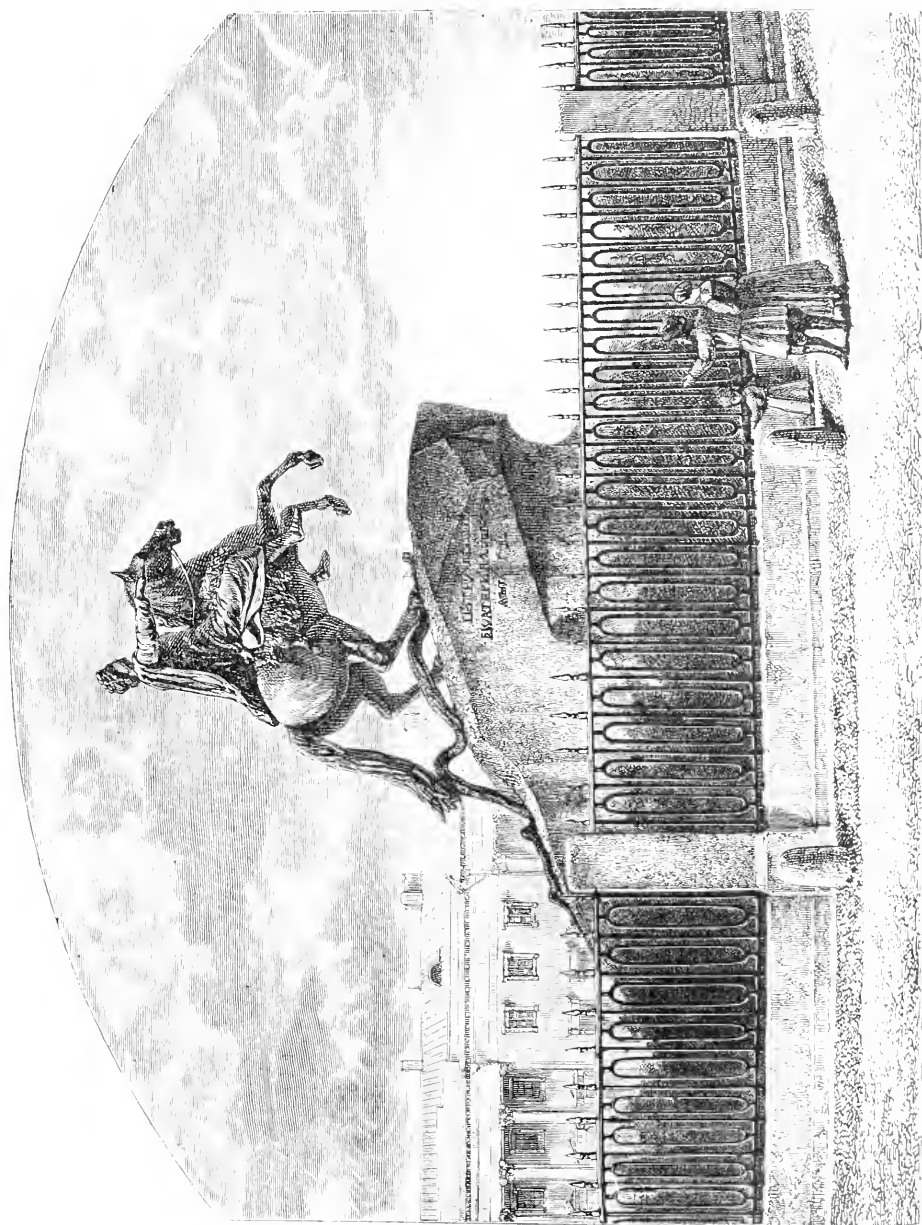
The Empress displayed the greatest eagerness to instruct the upper and middle classes, if she did not seek to touch the people, properly speaking, the mass of whom could not be penetrated by a culture that was still superficial. "To triumph over the superstitions of ages," were the words she dictated to Betski, "to give a new education, and so to speak a new life to one's people, is a work demanding incredible toil, and of which posterity alone will reap the fruits." From the lack of a national education, "Russia wanted the class of men known in other countries as the third estate." Ivan Betski, one of those truly disinterested friends of humanity who so rarely appear in history, and who had cultivated his natural talents

by study in the European universities, thought it necessary that the children should be taught by Russians, as foreigners would fail to understand how much in their pupils belonged to the religion, habits, and manners of the country. The moment had not yet come when Russia could do without foreign teachers. The scheme of national education for children of all classes, presented by Betski, could only partially be realized; secondary schools were founded in the great cities alone. Catherine the Second also interested herself in the instruction of women. At the monastery or institute of Smolna she assembled four hundred and eighty young girls, under the direction of a Frenchwoman, Madame Lafond. "We want them to be neither prudes nor coquettes," she writes to Voltaire. French and other foreign languages and accomplishments were taught there; but the line between the pupils of noble birth and tradesmen's daughters was sharply drawn. A splendid foundation of Catherine's was the "Vospitatelni Dom," or house of education for foundlings, at Moscow, in seventeen hundred and sixty-three,—a large establishment, which afterwards was the admiration of Napoleon the First, and where nearly forty thousand children in need of assistance, or girl-pupils, were received in Catherine's reign. The serf who married one of these orphans became free.

The influence of French genius over Russian civilization greatly increased during the reign of Catherine the Second. The national poets translated and imitated the French classics of the seventeenth century. The great Russian nobles, the Vorontsofs and the Galitsuins, esteemed it an honor, as did also the French nobility, to correspond with the writers and thinkers of the West. This French influence was beneficial, although it was exercised only upon the upper classes of society, and often stopped at the exterior without modifying very essentially either the character or the manners. It was this that introduced or strengthened in the Russian nobility those ideas of religious tolerance, of moral dignity, of respect

for the human body, even in the person of a slave, — those habits of courtesy and politeness, those aspirations after social justice and political liberty, which must, in the long run, perform their work, soften the hardness of the old boyars, prepare for the emancipation of the agricultural classes, and bring about the regeneration of Russia. We shall, however, see the Russian nobility, who had apparently followed the French philosophers into their most audacious deductions, suddenly frightened at the most moderate reforms of seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, and declaring loudly against revolutionary France. We shall find characters in which a slight varnish of Parisian civilization scarcely hides the ancient barbarism, but it was not in vain that Catherine's contemporaries had been fascinated by Montesquieu, by Voltaire, and by the American revolution. The social state of Russia, divided into an aristocracy of proprietors and a people of serfs, prevented the country from advancing with the same rapidity as France, but French ideas certainly did not delay its progress.

Catherine the Second was not less eager than her nobles in seeking the sympathy of French writers; her correspondence with philosophers added not a little to her prestige in the Europe of the eighteenth century, and to her fame with posterity. She attracted Grimm, once a friend of Rousseau, to her service, and he sent her regular letters from Paris on the affairs of France. She affected a gracious familiarity towards the Prince de Ligne, and the French ambassador, Count de Ségur, both men distinguished for wit and literary talents; admitted them into her travelling-carriage during a long journey to the South, and was able to respond to their ingenious flatteries and to their lively sallies. She wished to employ Mercier de la Rivière, and to secure the services of Beccaria, author of the "Treatise on Crimes and Penalties"; she declared herself the "good friend" of Madame Gœffrin, whose Parisian salon was one of the intellectual powers of that epoch. She offered to D'Alembert, who refused it, the super-



STATUE OF PETER THE GREAT

intendence of the education of the Grand Duke Paul, heir to the throne; later, she placed the Swiss Laharpe, celebrated for his republican opinions, with her grandsons Alexander and Konstantin. She thanked Marmontel for sending her his "Belisarius," "a book which deserves to be translated into all languages," caused a translation of it to be made by her friends during a voyage down the Volga, and even undertook the ninth chapter herself. She bought Diderot's library, yet allowed him to enjoy it; subscribed to the "Encyclopædia," which was forbidden to appear in Paris; admired the "Pensées Philosophiques," a book which was condemned by the Parliament to be burned, and the "Lettre sur les Aveugles," which had consigned the philosopher to the Bastile. She sent for the author to come to Saint Petersburg, and entertained him for a month with the most brilliant hospitality. The great sculptor Falconet, the friend of Diderot and the Encyclopædists, was already there, working at the statue of Peter the Great, which he represents as riding a horse in the act of springing, and with the fore feet in the air. His hind feet tread on a serpent of brass, the symbol of envy, and the serpent biting the flowing tail of the horse secures his equilibrium. The whole was mounted on an immense boulder brought from a morass in Karelia eleven versts from Saint Petersburg. This boulder represented emblematically the rude obstacles which Peter the Great had to overcome.

It was with Voltaire, above all, that Catherine kept up a close correspondence, beginning in seventeen hundred and sixty-three, and continuing to the death of the great man in seventeen hundred and seventy-eight. She herself endeavored to keep him informed, not only of her victories, but of her reforms, her efforts at legislation and labors for the colonization of Russia, knowing that the hermit of Ferney had fame in his gift. She gave money to his protégés, the families of Sirven and Calas, victims of the judicial abuses of the eighteenth century; and, after the expedition of Alexis Orlof to

the Archipelago, caused him to hope for the resurrection of Greece. In a single year she spent one million of rubles to acquire the pictures and works of art of the most celebrated painters of the Italian and Flemish schools, and endowed the capital of Peter the Great with artistic splendors hitherto unknown.

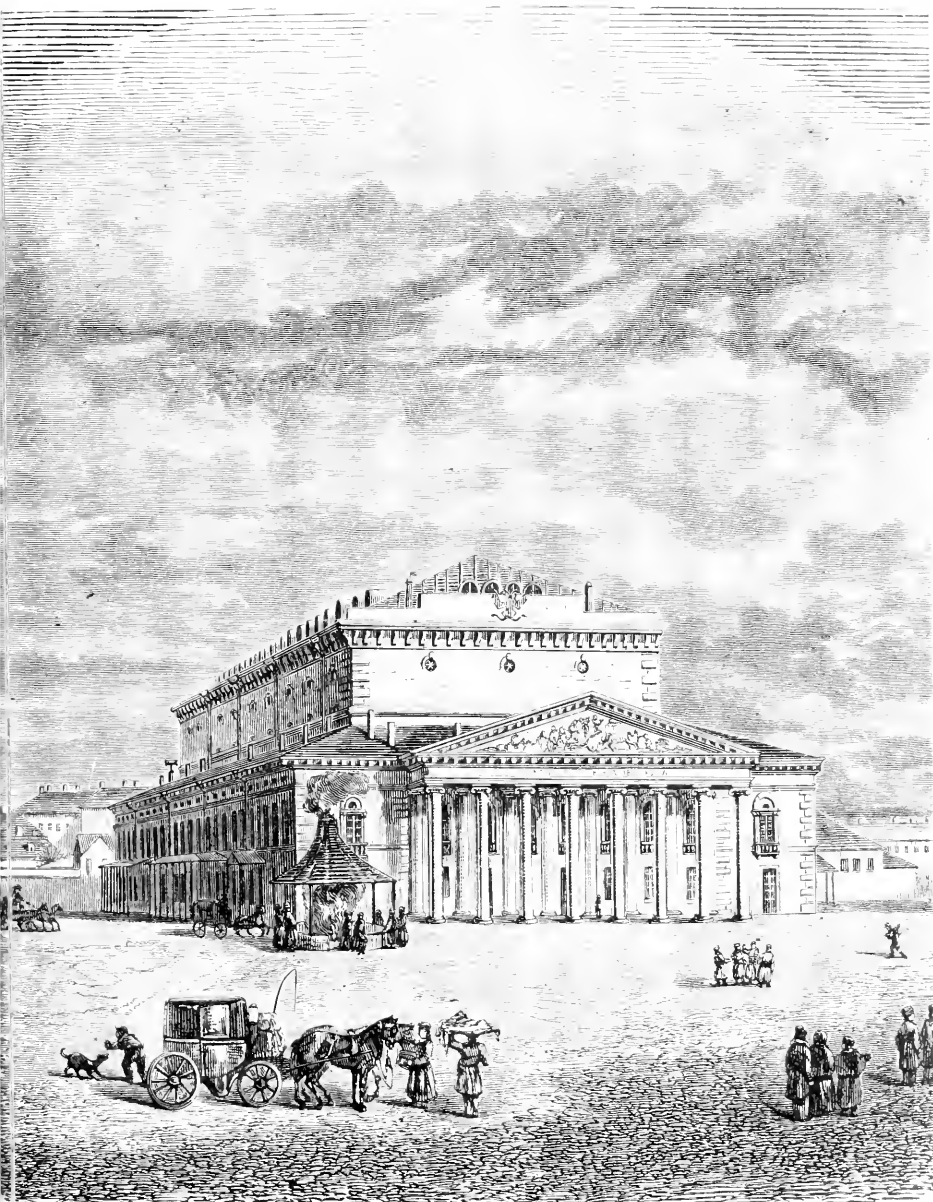
In spite of her devotion to the arts and letters of the West, Catherine piqued herself on being, above everything, a Russian Empress; and jestingly bade her doctor to bleed her of her last drop of German blood. She has a place of her own in Russian literature of the eighteenth century, having compiled for the use of her grandsons Alexander and Konstantin the "Grandmother's A B C," stories from Russian history, and the "Library of the Grand Dukes Alexander and Konstantin," which had the honor to be printed in Germany. The prefaces to her laws, her correspondence in Russian, French, and German with her ministers, her governors, and friends in France and Germany, prove her literary activity. She also worked for the new-born Russian theatre, and ridiculed hypocrisy, avarice, prejudice against education, the discontent caused by government decrees, the use of French words, the frivolous intrigues of the nobles, and the extravagance of the Russians abroad: in her lyric drama called "Oleg," the first expedition of the Russians against Constantinople is celebrated; in her comedy of *Horé Bogatuir*, or "Misfortune, the Knight," she turns into ridicule her enemy, the adventurous Gustavus the Third; in those of "The Charlatan" and "The Mystified Man" she chastises Cagliostro, who sought for dupes even in Russia; while "The Birthday of Madame Vortchalkina," "O Time," and many others are satires on contemporary manners. In the palace of the Hermitage she had a theatre constructed somewhat after the model of that at Mycenæ, where the plays of the Prince de Ligne, the Count de Ségur, Strogonof, and her own were performed. Most of the pieces which the Empress composed have been collected and published. They were written

in French. Against the French Abbé Chappe d'Anteroche, and his voyage to Siberia, she published an amusing pamphlet, called "The Antidote." Finally, she has left in French some curious memoirs about her arrival in Russia and her life as a Grand Duchess.

The Russian Academy, modelled in some degree after the French, was founded in seventeen hundred and eighty-three, on the suggestion of Princess Dashkof, then President of the Academy of Sciences. It was intrusted with the task of "fixing the rules of the orthography, grammar, and prosody of the Russian language, and of encouraging the study of Russian history." It then undertook the publication of a dictionary which appeared from seventeen hundred and eighty-nine to seventeen hundred and ninety-nine. It included in its six volumes forty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-seven words, and was re-edited from eighteen hundred and forty to eighteen hundred and fifty. Indeed, the Russian Academy was so much in fashion that the most illustrious men of letters and the highest ladies of rank — Princess Dashkof, the poets Derzhavin, Fon-Vizin, Kniazhnin, and Count Ivan Shuvalof — insisted on working at the dictionary. Catherine herself compiled "Complementary Notes" for the first volume. In eighteen hundred and thirty-five the minister Uvarof amalgamated the Russian Academy with the Academy of Sciences, under the title of "Second Class."

Catherine made herself the patroness of Russian men of letters. If she imposed the recital of a certain number of lines from the "Telemakhid" of Trediakovski as a penance on her friends of Tsarkoe-Selo, or the Hermitage, she encouraged Fon-Vizin, the comic author, the Russian Molière, who in his comedy of "The Brigadier" derided those whose only source of information was the French romances, and who ridiculed in his *Niédorosl*, or "The Spoilt Child," the indolence and frivolity of the young Russian nobles, the foolish infatuation

of their parents, and the strange choice of their preceptors. The principal characters of "The Brigadier" are Ivanushka, who is studying in Paris and hates everything Russian, and a counsellor who is the type of an absurd official. Both pieces are found to be faulty when examined critically. The dialogue is not connected; the persons represented are mere caricatures, but they are full of wit and end wholly in the French fashion. The taste for the pleasures of wit was spread by the theatre of Sumarokof, whose plays were often acted by the corps of cadets, at the court and in public places. In many ways it was an imitation of the French theatre. Ablesimof wrote "The Miller," a comedy which was performed twenty-seven times in Moscow and has kept its place on the stage, "The Boaster," "The Originals," "The Fatal Carriage," and attempted an historical drama in "Vadim of Novgorod." Imitations of Voltaire's *Henriade* were much in vogue. Of these the most popular were the "Russiad," by Kheraskof, an epic poem which celebrated the capture of Kazan, and "Vladimir, or the Conversion of the Russians." But neither had much merit. Bogdanovitch imitated La Fontaine in a light piece of verse called "Dushenka," which treated the antique subject of *Psyche*. Khemmitser translated the fables of Gellert, and composed others in Russian which are remarkable for the simplicity and natural grace of the style. Khemmitser, like Lessing, looked upon morals as the essential foundation of fables. His works reflect his thoughts and his peculiarities. The prevailing moral is that success is always gained by fearless men, and that a great inheritance is better than a good education. His fables are usually melancholy and affecting in tone. He is the natural predecessor of Kruihof. In lyric poetry Derzhavin holds the principal place. The school of Lomonosof was falling into disrepute, owing to its pompous style. Derzhavin's distinguishing characteristics are indicated by himself when he says that he was the first to praise the merits of Catherine in a pleasing style, to speak of God with simplicity, and to tell



THE GREAT THEATRE.

truth to the Tsar with a smile. His poems usually celebrate his own time, but he is superficial in his brilliancy, and hence unsatisfactory. He recognizes the dignity of the true man, and exalts a pure conscience and virtue. Like Horace and Anakreon, he is the poet of liberty, peace, and love. He brought the Russian language to a high state of perfection. His patriotic odes, "The Capture of Ismail," "The Great Noble," "The Cascade," "My Idol," "To Fortune," are remarkable for a certain sublimity mingled with a shade of satire. The second part of "Felitsa" is a lively attack on high society, full of malicious allusions to different people of the Court; and though it might have cost him dear in preceding reigns, the poem gained him a gold snuff-box and a rich gift from the Empress, who took care to send copies of it to all who were satirized, underlining the passages applied to them. Derzhavin's religious odes are inferior to those of Lomonosof. Some are philosophical, and directed against the French Encyclopædists. The best is the one entitled "On the Death of Prince Meshcherski." Perhaps the most famous is the "Ode to God," which the Emperor of China had printed in letters of gold and hung up in a temple. Derzhavin, having made a thorough study of German poetry, was enabled to use a greater variety of metres than his predecessors. He had considerable merit as a versifier; his faults were the faults of his day, —turgidity, inequality, and inconsistency. Beautiful and sublime thoughts are often spoiled by his extravagant and inflated rhetoric. Although a poet, Derzhavin was Minister of Justice.

The ardent and laborious Novikof, in order that the new culture might penetrate to the silent masses concerned with the smaller trades, and also to the people, took up the "Moscow Gazette," secured for it four thousand subscribers (an enormous number for the time), perfected the Russian typography, created new libraries, and published a series of reviews and magazines for home readings for the young and for workmen, who were almost destitute of literature. Among these were "The Pilgrim's Staff," "The Painter," "The Purse,"

“The Ancient Library of Russia,” “The Courier of Russian Antiquities,” “The Morning Aurora,” “The Evening Aurora,” the “Edition of Moscow,” and “The Worker’s Rest.” He founded several philanthropical societies, and that of the Friends of Instruction, and took in hand the cause of national education. He was sent to Moscow, and made director of the precious archives of the foreign department.

The aged Müller edited the first “National History of Russia,” by Tatishchev; and the “Compendium of Russian History,” by Mankief. Pallas of Berlin, who was made president of the Academy of Sciences at only thirty years of age, was commanded to make an observation of the passage of Venus over the sun. He then made his celebrated travels in the Crimea, in Siberia, and on the frontiers of China, and was given by the Empress an estate in the Taurid. Golikof, pardoned by Catherine on the occasion of the inauguration of Falconet’s bronze, vowed at the feet of Peter’s statue to raise an historical monument to the glory of the Russian hero, and published in twelve volumes “The Actions of Peter the Great.” Prince Shtcherbatof wrote the “History of Russia from the Earliest Times.” He was well educated, careful, and diligent, but not a man of much talent or depth. His work, however, holds an honorable place in Russian historical literature. General Boltin, a man of remarkable gifts, found great fault with the recent history of Old and New Russia, written by the French Leclerc in seventeen hundred and eighty-four, but he also severely criticised the work of Prince Shtcherbatof, which led to a great dispute between them. Mussin-Pushkin discovered the unique manuscript of the “Song of Igor.” Khrapovitski, Catherine’s confidential secretary, Poroshin, one of the tutors of the Grand Duke Paul; Nikita Panin, the diplomatist, the great nobles, Semen and Alexander Vorontsof, their sister Catherine Dashkof, and the old soldier Bolotof, collected or prepared valuable memoirs on the reigns of Elisabeth and Catherine. The historian Karamzin, and the dramatic poet Ozerof, who glorified the following reigns, were as yet only boys.

CHAPTER XI.

CATHERINE THE SECOND: LAST YEARS.

1780 – 1796.

FRANCO-RUSSIAN MEDIATION AT TESCHEN (1779).—ARMED NEUTRALITY (1780).—REUNION OF THE CRIMEA (1783).—SECOND WAR WITH TURKEY (1787–1792) AND WAR WITH SWEDEN (1788–1790).—SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND: DIET OF GRODNO.—THIRD PARTITION: KOSCIUSZKO.—CATHERINE THE SECOND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—WAR WITH PERSIA.

FRANCO-RUSSIAN MEDIATION AT TESCHEN.—ARMED NEUTRALITY.—REUNION OF THE CRIMEA.

THE second part of the reign of Catherine the Second is characterized by the abandonment of the “System of the North,” that is, of the English and Prussian alliance, and by a marked reconciliation, first with Austria, and then with France. After the death of Nikita Panin, who had been especially influential in foreign affairs, Count Alexander Bezborodko was advanced to the head of the diplomatic service. Bezborodko was the son of a Little Russian official, and was early distinguished for his rare endowments and his extraordinary memory, which attracted the attention of Field-Marshal Rumiantsof, who introduced him to the Empress. He took an important part in the treaty of Kairadji, and received the office of Catherine’s first secretary. He soon gained her entire confidence by his eloquence and brilliancy, and assisted her in the composition of many important ordinances. In seventeen hundred and eighty he presented a memorial on foreign relations, and was immediately made a member of that

College of which he soon became the head. About this same time the influence of Potemkin became all-powerful. The French ambassadors, the Marquis de Juigné, Bourée de Corberon, the Marquis de Vérac, and above all the Comte de Ségur, who represented France from seventeen hundred and eighty-five until seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, were again taken into favor in Russia.

In seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, Maximilian-Joseph, the Elector of Bavaria, being dead, his succession occasioned a conflict between the house of Austria and Frederic the Second. In order to stop this war, which had already begun in Bohemia, the Courts of France and Russia agreed to offer their mediation, and in seventeen hundred and seventy-nine assembled a Congress at Teschen, in which Louis the Sixteenth was represented by M. Breteuil, and Catherine the Second by Prince Repnin. Peace was signed on the tenth of May. Bavaria passed to the Elector Palatine, and Austria acquired only some districts upon the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza.

In seventeen hundred and eighty, during the American War, the Empress, moved to indignation by the wrongs committed by the English Admiralty against foreign merchantmen, joined with Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, and Portugal to proclaim an armed neutrality. The celebrated act embodied the principles of a new maritime law, agreeing with the French code of seventeen hundred and seventy-eight. It was settled that neutral ships could freely navigate the coasts of the nations which were at war; that the goods belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be safe in neutral vessels, except in the case of contraband merchandise; that "contraband goods" included only arms and munition; that a port should be considered in a state of blockade only when the blockade was effectual,—that is, when the vessels attacking it should be so near as to render it dangerous to pass out; and lastly that these principles should serve as a rule in trials and judgments on the legality of captures.

These principles were opposed at all points to those which the English Admiralty wished to see prevail. The latter held the theory that the blockade exists from the moment that it is declared by an act of the Admiralty, and considered as contraband even grain, and all that could be, however indirectly, of use to the belligerents. France, which had at first laid down these principles, and to which the armed neutrality brought a moral support in its struggle with Great Britain, adhered to this declaration. Its allies, Spain and the Two Sicilies, followed the example. Holland even began a war with England to maintain the rights of the neutral powers.

The Crimea had been declared independent by the treaty of Kairnadji; and since seventeen hundred and seventy-four anarchy had been the normal state of the peninsula. The Sultan, deprived by this treaty of his temporal sovereignty, continued, as successor of the Khalifs, to claim the religious supremacy. The Tatar nobles, abandoned to themselves, were divided into two factions, the Russian party and the Turkish party, which in turn made and then deposed a Khan of the Crimea. Nearly thirty-five thousand Christians, Greeks, Armenians, and Catholics, disturbed by these civil discords, quitted the ravine of Tehufut-Kalé and the wonder-working sanctuary of the Assumption, which was dug out of the hard rock, and emigrated in a body to the territory of Russia. In seventeen hundred and seventy-five the Khan Sahib-Girei, who was devoted to Russia, was overthrown and replaced by Devlet-Girei. He in his turn was dethroned by Catherine, and Shahin-Girei, whom Catherine made a captain of the Preobrazhenski regiment, reigned in his stead, but, by his attempts at European reforms, caused a general revolt. Shahin-Girei's own brothers put themselves at the head of the revolt, and he was obliged to take refuge at Taganrog. Russia interfered; it proclaimed the union of the empire and the peninsula, which had been since the thirteenth century the home of banditti, and whose ravines had so often sent forth

Tatar squadrons to bring fire and flame to Moscow. Thus Catherine finished the work of the conqueror of Kazan, of Astrakhan, and of Siberia, by the extinction of the last kingdom that recalled the Mongol yoke.

The two military States which formerly disputed the steppes of the South, the Tatar khanate and the equally warlike republic of the Zaporoshtsui, succumbed almost at the same time. In the face of the advent of civilization these old enemies were alike condemned to total ruin. Representatives of the ancient anarchy, children of the desert and the steppe, knights of pillage and of prey, they constituted a dangerous anachronism and an intolerable anomaly on the frontier of a prosperous Russia. The Porte protested against the annexation of the Crimea, and threatened a rupture; but France, which had formerly excited the war, tried this time to smooth matters. Catherine the Second recognized the good offices of the ambassador Saint-Priest, and addressed her thanks to Louis the Sixteenth. The Sultan acknowledged the cession of the Crimea and of the Kuban by the Treaty of Constantinople in seventeen hundred and eighty-three. Catherine gave great rewards to those who had had a share in bringing about this treaty. Potemkin was made general field-marshal and president of the college of war, and received a present of one hundred thousand rubles. Bezborodko received the order of Saint Andrew and a gift of three thousand serfs and forty thousand rubles. And the Austrian internuncio was presented with twenty thousand rubles and other valuable gifts.

In seventeen hundred and eighty-four the Grand Duke Paul and his wife, under the names of the Count and Countess du Nord, made a tour in the West, and received a brilliant reception in Paris. In seventeen hundred and eighty-seven the Comte de Ségur, taking advantage of the good terms on which he stood with Potemkin, and the latter's desire to hasten the development of Odessa, by trading with the French ports on

the Mediterranean, concluded a treaty of commerce, an important negotiation in which all his predecessors had hitherto failed.

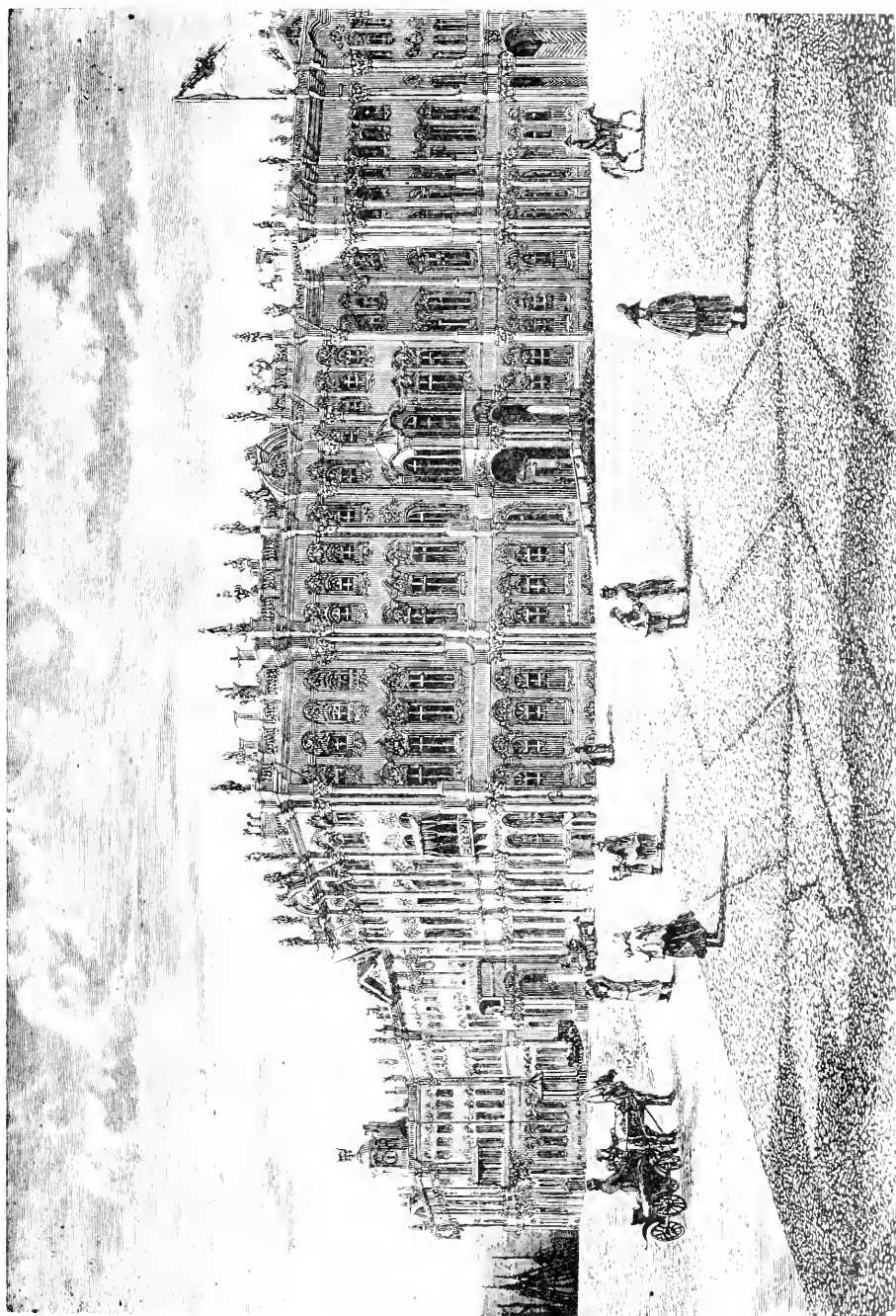
SECOND WAR WITH TURKEY AND WAR WITH SWEDEN.

All this time Russia maintained a close alliance with Joseph the Second, whom Catherine had gained over to her ambitious projects in the East. The Cabinet of Saint Petersburg proposed to that of Vienna a plan for the dismemberment of Turkey. "There ought to exist between the Russian, Austrian, and Turkish monarchies an intermediate State, forever independent of each, which, under the name of Dacia, should comprehend Moldavia, Valakhia, and Bessarabia, and have a sovereign who should belong to the Greek Church. Russia is to acquire Otchakof and the seaboard between the Bug and the Dnieper, besides one or two isles in the Archipelago. Austria is to annex the Turkish provinces on its frontiers. If the war is crowned with such success that the Turks are expelled from Constantinople, the Greek Empire is to be re-established in complete independence, and the throne is to be filled by the grandson of the Empress, the Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovitch, who is to renounce all claims to the throne of Russia, so that the two kingdoms may never be united under the same sceptre." Joseph the Second accepted these propositions, but further stipulated that besides Servia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, the Slav provinces of the Turkish Empire, he should have the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia. Venice was to receive in exchange the Morea, Candia, and Cyprus. England, France, and Spain might share the spoils of Turkey. Such was the celebrated scheme of partition, known under the name of the "Greek project," which would have fulfilled all the wishes of Voltaire, who had died five years previously.

The attitude of Russia became each day more threatening

to the Porte. The second son of Paul the First bore the significant name of Konstantin, and had been given a Greek nurse. The Taurid, annexed by Catherine the Second, who had alleged the security of the empire as the reason of her act, was becoming, in the hands of Potemkin, a menace to the Turks. Already Kherson had a formidable arsenal; Sevastopol was being built; there was a Russian fleet on the Black Sea, and in two days it might cast anchor under the walls of the Seraglio. Catherine's agents continued to agitate in the Rumanian, Slav, and Greek provinces, and even in Egypt; she was preparing to incorporate the Caucasus, and had taken the Tsar of Georgia under her protection. The triumphal journey made by the Empress in seventeen hundred and eighty-seven to the governments of the South and the newly conquered provinces; her interviews with the King of Poland and Joseph the Second; the military equipment arrayed by Potemkin, prince of the Taurid; the arches with the famous Greek inscription, "The Way to Byzantium," still further alarmed and irritated the Porte. France, which too well knew the weakness of its former ally, tried to use a restraining influence; but England, and even Prussia, acted in the contrary way, in order to spite Russia. Sweden, which the French ambassador also tried to moderate, promised to aid the Sublime Porte.

On the twenty-sixth of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, Bulgakof, the Russian envoy, received the ultimatum of Turkey. It demanded the extradition of Maurokordato, hospodar of Moldavia, who had taken refuge in Russia; the recall of the Russian consuls of Iassy, Bukarest, and Alexandria, on the ground that they were disturbing the peace; the abandonment of the protectorate over Irakli the Second, Tsar of Georgia, the vassal of the Sultan; the right of the Turks to inspect all Russian vessels navigating the Straits; and the admission of Turkish consuls or commissaries into the ports of the Russian territory. Bulgakof refused to agree to these conditions.



THE WINTER PALACE.

He was then confined in the Seven Towers, and on the sixteenth of August the Porte declared war.

Russia was taken by surprise. Potemkin had not finished his preparations, and the fleet at Sevastopol had suffered severely from a recent tempest. "The child of fortune began to despair when he saw that he was beginning to be unfortunate." His letters to Catherine show how deeply he was discouraged ; and he even spoke of evacuating the Crimea. The Empress shows in her replies a masculine and dauntless soul ; she managed to prove to her favorite that the evacuation of the Peninsula would be the certain ruin of the great port of Sevastopol and the infant fleet which had been created at such cost. Without waiting for the enemy, it was necessary to assume the offensive, and march on Otchakof or Bender. "I implore you to take courage and reflect," she writes ; "the brave soul can repair even a disaster."

But Catherine had more than one enemy to cope with. While Turkey menaced her on the south, Prussia was scheming to force Poland to cede Dantzic and Thorn, and to oblige the two other co-partitioners to give up Gallicia. Finally Gustavus the Third declared his designs, abruptly laid claim to South Finland, demanded that he should be allowed to mediate between Russia and Turkey, and, without awaiting a reply to his ultimatum, laid siege to Nyslot and Frederikshamn. If he had acted promptly, instead of wasting the ardor of his troops against the fortresses, he might have conquered Livonia, then defended by only two regiments, or surprised Saint Petersburg, which was deprived of its troops. Although the roar of the Swedish cannon could be heard in the Winter Palace, Catherine showed the courage that she enjoined on Potemkin. Nevertheless, horses were kept in readiness to transport the Court to Moscow if worse came to worst. She refused to desert her capital, and assembled in a few days twelve thousand men for its defence. She sent to Potemkin for re-inforcements which he refused to grant, saying that he

himself needed them more, and that the Swedish war was an old woman's war, which required only a few troops. The Swedish fleet was arrested on its way by the indecisive battle of Hogland, which took place July seventeen, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight. The Russian fleet suffered more severely than the Swedish; but the Swedish ammunition gave out, and had the battle been renewed the following day, it would have been completely disastrous to the Swedes. The Russians lost their able commander, Admiral Greig, who had served with such honor in the naval engagement with the Turks. A revolt broke out even in the camp of the Swedish king, who was accused by his officers of violating his own constitution by declaring war without consulting the senate. Gustavus the Third was obliged to return to Stockholm, where he punished the conspirators, and by a new coup-d'état obliged the assembly to give to the constitution a still more monarchical character. A diversion of the Danes in Sweden forbade his assuming the offensive, but in seventeen hundred and eighty-nine he got rid of them through the threatened intervention of England and Prussia, and took up arms against Russia; his fleet, however, suffered considerable loss. Though he gained the naval battle of Svenska-Sund, where he captured thirty vessels, six hundred cannon, and six thousand men, on the ninth of July, seventeen hundred and ninety, he found himself unable to pursue his advantage, which was compromised by a second battle on the same seas. The affairs of France gave another direction to the ideas of this strange prince. He hastened to sign the Peace of Verelä, on the basis of statu quo ante bellum, and passed from open hostilities to propositions of an alliance with Russia against the Revolution.

In the South, Catherine had ready, in seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, an army of eighteen thousand men to protect the Caucasus, eighty thousand under Potemkin to capture Otchakof and to defend the Crimea, and thirty-seven thousand

under Rumiantsof to operate on the Dniester and in Moldavia ; while two hundred thousand Austrians under Joseph the Second, who had declared war against Abdul-Hamid on the ninth of February, threatened the line of the Danube and the Save. The Emperor was unfortunate in this war. He was forced to fall back beyond the Save. In the fall, feeling the growing discontent of Hungary, where the people had been irritated by his religious innovations and the nobles by encroachments on their privileges, he resigned his command to the aged Laudon. Two little fortresses were captured, but the main army before Belgrad operated with such stupidity that the Grand Vizier penetrated into Hungary as far as Temesvar, where the Emperor met them with forty thousand men and was defeated. The Austrian left wing, amounting to eighteen thousand men under the Prince of Koburg, being joined by thirteen thousand Russians under Soltuikof, had better success, and on the seventeenth of September captured Khotin, the key of Moldavia. During this time Suvorof defended Kinburn against superior forces, and was wounded in a sortie. Potemkin, with his large army, was wasting his time and opportunity, instead of attacking Otchakof. Had he followed Suvorof's advice or appointed him to lead the Russians, this important place could easily have been taken in the spring. But Potemkin saw fit to despise the advice of others. A pasha came to the assistance of the city with half the Turkish fleet ; but in a naval battle with the Russians, who were commanded by the "so-called" Prince of Nassau-Siegen and Rear-Admiral John Paul Jones, he was defeated, with a loss of three thousand five hundred men. In trying to escape to his fleet in the Black Sea his remaining vessels were almost annihilated by a battery placed by Suvorof at Kinburn. While the Russian fleet was thus victorious, Potemkin began his work of beleaguering the city, threw up a few redoubts at a considerable distance from the walls, and waited for the Turks to be starved out ; but the Russians

suffered far more severely. The summer and the fall had passed, and the bitter winter was at hand. There was no fire-wood, and the soldiers were scantily clad. On the sixteenth of December there was only bread enough for one day. Potemkin, therefore, brought to a decision by the necessity of the situation, commanded an assault to be made. On the seventeenth, the morning of Saint Nicholas's day, the attack was begun. In order to give the men animation, they were furnished with brandy seasoned with Spanish pepper. Four columns under Prince Repnin stormed the west side of the great intrenchment, two attacked the east side and the city itself. The fearful cross-fire of the enemy, though it nearly destroyed one column of two thousand men, did not dismay the desperate Russians. In a few hours, after a fearful struggle, they mastered the city, making an entrance, some by ladders, some by breaches in the walls, some by crossing the frozen river and clambering over the lower fortifications on that side. The loss of the Turks was eight thousand, and the Russians lost even more. Among them were one hundred and seventy officers. In the massacre that followed, men and women were butchered with the most horrible cruelty. The treasure captured was enormous, gold, silver, and precious stones. Lieutenant Bauer undertook to carry the news of the victory to the Empress, and accomplished the distance, more than two thousand versts, in the short space of nine days. Potemkin was rewarded with the great band of the Order of George, and a sword set with diamonds and bearing the inscription, "For Bravery." But according to the common belief he was distinguished rather for the opposite quality. During this campaign the Russians lost sixty thousand men, while the Austrians suffered still more severely. Catherine the Second, who had been in previous years accustomed to see French volunteers in the enemy's camp, now had the opportunity to applaud the prowess of the Baron de Damas and Count de Bombelles, who fought under her own standard.

In seventeen hundred and eighty-nine Selim the Third, a man of great character, spirit, and knowledge, became Sultan at Constantinople, and Potemkin's intrigues finally succeeded in getting Count Rumiantsof recalled. The first action of this campaign took place on the twenty-seventh of April, and resulted in a victory for the Russians. On the thirty-first of July the Turks, thirty thousand strong, endeavored to attack the Prince of Koburg. Suvorof, with wonderful rapidity, marched with seven thousand of his troops through narrow passes over rough mountains, and in thirty-six hours joined his men with those of the Prince, who was at Fokshani, thirty-six miles away. The Turks lost ten cannon, sixteen flags, and their whole camp. Six weeks later the Austrians were again threatened by an overwhelming Turkish force amounting to one hundred thousand men. Again Suvorof saved the Prince of Koburg. At the battle of the Ruimnik, near Martinestie, on September twenty-second, the victory was won by twenty-five thousand Christians. The Grand Vizier, Kutchuk-Hassan, did not long survive this defeat. Suvorof earned by this victory the surname of Ruimnikski, and was made a count of the Roman and Russian empires, and the Prince of Koburg was appointed field-marshal. Each of the generals received also a sword adorned with precious stones valued at sixty thousand rubles. On the west Laudon took Belgrad in October, and conquered Servia; while on the east Potemkin, on the sixteenth of November, successfully besieged Bender and subdued Bessarabia. Potemkin was again rewarded by the Empress. She presented him with one hundred thousand rubles in gold, and a laurel wreath of emeralds and diamonds worth one hundred and fifty thousand rubles.

Freed from the war with Sweden, Catherine the Second carried on hostilities with the Turks with greater vigor in seventeen hundred and ninety. Ismail, on the northern side of the Danube, was formidable from its position, and was defended besides by forty thousand men. Kutuzof had aban-

doned all hope of taking it, and Potemkin entreated the impetuous Suvorof to be prudent. Suvorof, however, carried it by assault, with a loss of ten thousand men on the Russian and thirty thousand on the Turkish side. "Never," he writes to Potemkin, "was a fortress stronger than Ismail, and never was a defence more desperate! But Ismail is taken." His exploits were sung by Derzhavin.

In seventeen hundred and ninety Joseph the Second died; and his successor, Leopold the Second, signed a peace at Sistova, in August, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, which gave him only the old town of Orsova and the territory of the Unna. Catherine still continued the war for some months. The fall of Akkerman and Kilia made her mistress of the mouths of the Danube. Repnin, with forty thousand men, defeated the Grand Vizier with one hundred thousand at Matchin, while Ushakof dispersed the Turkish fleet and surrounded Varna, so as to cut off the Grand Vizier's communications with Constantinople, and the Sultan, in alarm, implored peace; and, as Catherine's attention was claimed by the affairs of France and Poland, she was not disinclined. By the separate Peace of Iassy, which was signed in January, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, she retained only Otchakof and the seaboard between the Bug and the Dniester, and stipulated for guarantees in favor of the Danubian Principalities. This war was more severe than the preceding one had been, and the success more disputed. The Turks, thinking themselves on the eve of being driven into Asia, managed to make a better fight than in the struggle of seventeen hundred and sixty-seven.

SECOND PARTITION OF POLAND: DIET OF GRODNO.— THIRD PARTITION: KOSCIUSZKO.

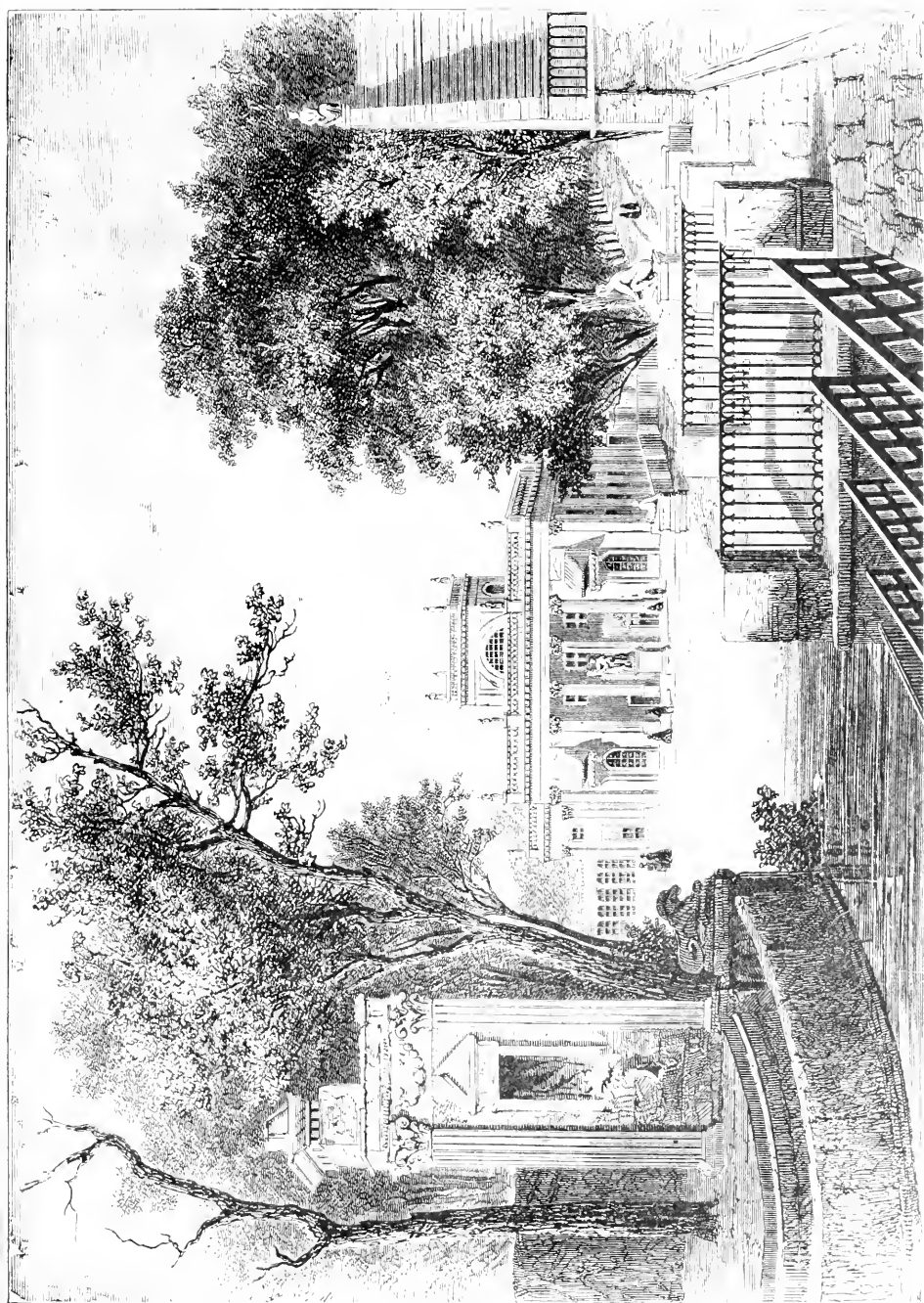
The years between seventeen hundred and seventy-three and seventeen hundred and ninety-one had been, for Poland, years of valiant efforts and needful reforms. Tyzenhaus had founded a school of medicine in Warsaw, the old universities

of Vilna and Cracow had been reorganized, and a number of secondary schools created, for which the French philosopher Condillac had compiled a manual of logic. Stanislas Poniatovski, the correspondent of Voltaire, the friend, the "dear son" of Madame G^oeffrin, had induced French and Italian artists to visit the country. National historians and poets adorned with their talents the last years of independence. It was a real Polish renaissance, under the salutary influence of the universal French genius. "Progress was rapid," says L^él^ével; "in a few years no more was seen of those sombre superstitious practices, of that hideous bigotry, which had stained with blood the piety of the faithful; charlatanism could no longer seduce them; they spoke with a smile of the ancient faith in sorcery; the phenomena of nature were explained in a reasonable way; hatred gave place to fraternity among the worshippers at different shrines." The characters of the people, degraded for centuries by a fatal education, became elevated by the rational instruction given them at the new schools. A generation of men grew up strangers to the fanaticism and corruption of the preceding age, possessed with a passion for liberty and the country, whose crowning glory they were to be. To give an idea of the work accomplished, we have only to compare the Zamoïskis, the Kosciuszkos, the Niemtsevitches, and the Dombrovskis with the men of the first partition. Poland wished to live, and made a last effort for its regeneration.

It was necessary first to reform the hateful and anarchic constitution, which had been perfidiously guaranteed by the foreign powers, and had made Poland the laughing-stock and prey of its enemies. In seventeen hundred and eighty-eight the Diet of Warsaw established a committee for this purpose, raised the number of the army to sixty thousand men, and imposed new taxes. Circumstances seemed favorable to the boldest measures; if France, occupied with its revolution, could not come to the aid of Poland, England appeared openly

hostile to Russia ; Turkey and Sweden declared war against Catherine, while Prussia was seeking the friendship of the Poles, and had persuaded Poniatovski to despise the Russian guarantee, and negotiated a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. The Diet of seventeen hundred and ninety-one was formed into a confederation, and, deciding this time by a majority, undertook the reform of the constitution. It declared the throne hereditary, and nominated the house of Saxony heirs to Poniatovski ; it abolished the *liberum veto*, which was legal anarchy and organized venality ; it shared the legislative power between the king, the senate, and the Chamber of Nuncios ; it centred the executive power in the king, assisted by six ministers, responsible to the Chambers, and invested him with the command of the armies and the appointment of the officials. The towns obtained the right of electing their judges, and of sending deputies to the Diet. None dared touch the rights of nobles over their peasants, for the nobles were then the fighting part of the nation, the “legal country” ; and it was owing, in fact, to their patriotism that the revolution was accomplished. All that the Diet could do was to sanction beforehand individual compacts made between the owners and their serfs, to the advantage of the latter. Such was the memorable constitution of the third of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-one. A similar transformation which took place in Sweden at the royal coup-d’état of seventeen hundred and seventy-two had saved the monarchy of the Vasas from dismemberment, — would the parliamentary coup-d’état of seventeen hundred ninety-one save Poland ? Would the Northern courts, which thought it a crime on the part of the French liberals to weaken, by the constitution of the same year, the powers of the Bourbon kings, permit the Polish patriots to restore to their sovereign the essential prerogatives of royalty, the force necessary to subdue anarchy within, and cause the nation to be respected without ?

Catherine the Second feared to protest as long as she had



the Turkish war on her hands; but when the Peace of Iassy was signed, she received at Saint Petersburg a deputation of Polish malcontents, who were disposed to cling to the *liberum veto*, and were alarmed at the promises made to the peasants. Amongst these unworthy citizens we may remark Felix Pototski, the hetman Branitski, Rzhevutski, and the two brothers Kazakovski. Catherine the Second authorized them to form the Confederation of Targovitsa. In her manifesto of the eighteenth of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, she reminded men that Russia had guaranteed the Polish constitution, and signalized the reformers of the third of May as accomplices of the Jacobins. Enlightened Russians were indignant at the perfidious language used by their ministers. Semen Vorontsof, ambassador in London, writes, "The manifesto had no right to enter into ridiculous eulogies on the ancient form of government, under which the Republic has flourished and prospered for so many centuries. That has an air of stupidity, if it is said in good faith, or of insulting contempt, if they believe, like the rest of the world, that it is the most absurd and detestable of all governments." The epithet "Jacobin" was, besides, singularly inapplicable to the Poles, who wished to strengthen the royal power.

At the request of the Confederates of Targovitsa, eighty thousand Russians and twenty thousand Cossacks entered the Ukraina. Poniatovski turned to Prussia, and recalled the promises of help which had been given. Frederic William the Second replied that he had not been consulted about the change of the constitution, and that he considered himself absolved from all engagements. He was already arranging with Russia a second treaty of partition, from which Austria was to be excluded. Austria would have to content itself with any provinces it might wrest from revolutionary France. Russia likewise promised to help it to acquire Bavaria, in exchange for the Low Countries. The Poles, deserted by all, tried in vain to resist the Russian invasion. Their army of

Lithuania retreated without fighting, while the Polish army, properly so-called, gave battle at Ziélentsé, under Prince Iosiph Poniatovski; and at Dubienka, on the Bug, under Thaddens Kosciuzko, or Kostosinshko. Then King Stanislas pronounced himself ready to accede to the Confederation of Targovitsa, thus disavowing his glorious work of the third of May. The reformers Ignati Pototski, Kolontai, and Malakhovski had to withdraw, and their places in the council of the king were taken by Confederates of Targovitsa, who abolished the constitution. The liberum veto was re-established.

The Polish patriots, remaining in ignorance of the treaty of partition, were unconscious of half their misfortunes. The King of Prussia in his turn crossed the western frontier, announcing in his manifesto that the troubles of Poland compromised the safety of his own States, that Dantzig had sent corn to the French revolutionaries, and that Great Poland was infested by Jacobin clubs, whose intrigues were rendered doubly dangerous by the continuation of the war with France. The King of Prussia affected to see Jacobins whenever it was his interest to find them. The share which each of the powers should have was marked out in advance. Russia was to seize the eastern provinces with a population of three millions, as far as a line drawn from the eastern frontier of Kurland, which, passing Pinsk, ended in Galicia, and included Borisof, Minsk, Slutsk, Volhynia, Podolia, and Little Russia. Prussia would take the long-coveted cities of Thorn and Dantzig, as well as Great Poland, Posnania, Gniezen, Kalish, and Tchenstokhovo. If Russia still only annexed Russian or Lithuanian territory, Prussia for the second time cut Poland to the quick, and another million and a half of Slavs passed under the yoke of the Germans.

It was not enough to despoil Poland, now reduced to a territory less extensive than that which was now taken possession of by Russia; it was necessary that it should consent to the spoliation, — that it should legalize the partition. A diet

was convoked at Grodno, under the pressure of the Russian bayonets. This same pressure, enforced by pecuniary corruption, had been exercised in the elections, and the King was in some sense dragged to Grodno to preside over the ruin of his country. Sivers, Catherine's ambassador, displayed all the resources of an unscrupulous diplomacy which had seduction, intimidation, and violence at its service. In spite of the support of bought deputies and Targovitsan traitors, he gained nothing for a long time. At last the Diet, in the deceitful hope of dividing its enemies, consented that the treaty of cession to Russia should be ratified, but showed itself more stubborn with regard to Prussia. Sivers was forced to surround the Hall of Session by two battalions of grenadiers, point four pieces of cannon, and install General Rautenfels in a chair beside the King. Twenty days passed without his being able to extract a word of assent from the defenceless assembly. The Poles hated the Prussians above everything. Catherine might have delivered Great Poland from a hated yoke, and united all the kingdom under her authority, which would have been almost gratefully accepted. Like Semen Vorontsof, Sivers felt the enormous fault that was committed by aggrandizing Prussia at the expense of a Slav country. Unhappily his instructions were positive. In order to triumph over this stubbornness he had four deputies carried off by his dragoons, and closely blockaded the assembly in the hall of deliberations. The day of September twenty-third, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the following night, were occupied by a "silent session," while the King sat on his throne, and the deputies on their benches, gloomy and dumb. At three in the morning Rautenfels left to fetch his grenadiers; then the Marshal of the Diet, Bielinski, put the question. Ankiévitch proposed to the nuncios a compromise which would give satisfaction to Prussia, while leaving to a "more happy posterity" the task of raising up the country. Bielinski asked three times, without taking breath, if the Diet authorized the

delegate to sign the treaty. No one replied; then a voice was heard declaring the silence to be equivalent to consent. It was four o'clock in the morning, — the nuncios left the hall in profound grief, with streaming eyes.

On the sixteenth of October the Diet concluded with Russia a treaty of alliance, or rather a compact of slavery, by which Catherine the Second guaranteed "the liberty of the republic"; that is, all the abuses of the old constitution. The Polish troops who were encamped on the provinces ceded to the Empress received orders to swear allegiance to her; the army belonging to the republic was to be reduced to only fifteen thousand men.

By its fanaticism and electoral corruption Poland had merited its misfortunes in seventeen hundred and seventy-two; it did not merit those of seventeen ninety-three. History will not forget the generous efforts of the Teliartomski, of the greater part of the nobility, and of the patriotic "third estate," for the reform of the country.

The citizens of the large towns, inspired by French ideas, were indignant at this new attempt against their country. The army, still twenty-five thousand men strong, had received with fury the order to disband. Part of the noblemen shared these sentiments, while the others, through fear of new taxes or social reforms, resigned themselves to foreign rule. The country proper remained apathetic and indifferent. Poland was cruelly expiating the harsh servitude that her *pospolit*, in the full current of eighteenth-century civilization, had allowed to weigh on the rural classes. George Forster writes in seventeen hundred and ninety-one, "The Polish nobles alone in Europe have pushed ignorance and barbarism so far that they have almost extinguished in their serfs the last lingering sparks of thought." This is one of the extenuating circumstances invoked by Russian or German historians to excuse the dismemberment; the lot of the peasants was not to grow worse under Russian domination, and was to improve under German rule.

The Polish patriots had, however, placed all their hopes on Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the hero of Dubienka. He was born in seventeen hundred and fifty-two, and admitted in seventeen hundred and sixty-four to the military school, founded by the Tchartoruiski, where he had distinguished himself by unceasing labor. In Poland he received hard lessons in equality; he saw his father assassinated by exasperated peasants, and he himself had been put to shame by the powerful noble Sosnovski, whose daughter he, a simple portionless gentleman, dared to ask in marriage.

He fought in the American War, and returned invested with the republican decoration of the Cincinnati. After the second partition he quitted Warsaw and retired into Saxony, where he found the men of the third of May, — Malakhovski, Ignati Pototski, the ex-Chancellor Kolontai, Niemtsevitch, and all of Poland that was honorably devoted to liberty. He was then sent into France, and received promises of help from the Committee of Public Safety, and now he was working in Dresden to organize in Poland a vast conspiracy. He was soon able to reckon thousands of nobles, priests, citizens, and disbanded soldiers; but in spite of the number of the conspirators, General Igelstrom, who commanded in Warsaw for Catherine the Second, failed to seize the principal threads of the plot.

The order to disband the army hastened the explosion. Madalinski refused to allow the brigade that he commanded to be disarmed, crossed the Bug, threw himself on the Prussian provinces, and then fell back on Krakof. At his approach this city, the second in Poland, the capital of the ancient kings, rose and expelled the Russian garrison. Kosciuszko hastened to the scene of action, and put forth the “act of insurrection,” in which the hateful conduct of the co-partitioners was branded, and the population called to arms. Five thousand scythes were made for the peasants, the voluntary offerings of patriots were collected, and those of obstinate

and lukewarm people were extracted by force. Igelstrom, who was very uneasy in Warsaw, detached, nevertheless, Tormasof and Denisof against Krakof. Deserted by Denisof, Tormasof came up near Ratslavitsa with Kosciuszko and Madalinski, the number of whose troops — four thousand men, one half of whom were peasants — was almost equal to his own. The cavalry of the nobles gave way at the first shock, and fled, announcing everywhere that Kosciuszko was defeated and captured; but the steadiness of the peasants preserved the Polish army, and twelve guns were taken from the Russians. To punish the cowardice of the cavalry officers, the dictator took off the dress of the gentleman and assumed that of a peasant.

The news of this success soon reached Warsaw, and the representation of the “*Krakovians*,” which seemed an allusion to the events in Gallicia, still further increased the excitement. Igelstrom had posted his regiments so injudiciously that their communication could easily be cut off by the Polish regiments in the town. The arsenal had not yet been delivered to the Russians, and remained in the hands of the patriots.

On the seventeenth of April, at three o’clock in the morning, the tocsin sounded in all the churches, and the insurrection broke out. The people, excited by the shoemaker Kilinski and the merchant Kapostas, fell everywhere on the isolated detachments of Russians. Igelstrom found himself blockaded in his palace, unable to communicate with the scattered regiments, and assailed at once by the citizens and the Polish troops. On the eighteenth he left the town with great difficulty, abandoning twelve cannons, four thousand killed and wounded, and two thousand prisoners. Vilna, capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw, and expelled General Arsenief.

A provisional government installed itself at Warsaw, and sent a courier to Kosciuszko. It was composed of men of the third of May, amongst whom Ignati Pototski represented the moderate and Kilinski the extreme party. King Stanislas

remained in his palace, treated with respect but watched, and taking no active part in public affairs, of which he was kept informed only by the courtesy of the government. To sum up, the revolution of the seventeenth of April, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, had a national and monarchic character, like the Constitution of the third of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-one. It sought the support of France, without following all the advice of the Convention. A special tribunal gave some satisfaction to the public conscience by seeking out the wretches who had betrayed their country, and whose connection with foreigners had been proved by the papers seized at the Russian embassy. Ankiévitch, the hetmans Zabiello and Ozarovski, and Kazakovski, bishop of Livonia, were hung; the brother of the latter, Kazakovski, hetman of Lithuania, had been punished at Vilna.

In spite of the agitation caused by Kolontai and the democrats, Kosciuszko dared not settle the question about the peasants, and his manifesto of the seventh of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, was not put in force. He feared to risk the alienation of the military class, without gaining the rural masses, brutalized by centuries of oppression; still he tried to win the clergy and the orthodox populations, by proclaiming liberty of conscience, and the equality of different religions in the eye of the law.

The Prussians, however, managed to take Krakof, which was only feebly defended by its commander. The government of Warsaw declared war against Frederic William the Second. The people, attributing the loss of Krakof to treason, rushed to the prisons, and promptly executed the seven men who were detained there. They deserved the fate that befell them; they had been amongst the promoters of the Confederation of Targovitsa, they had been agents of Russia. Kosciuszko condemned this bloody justice, and insisted on the punishment of the rioters, but at the same time hastened the trial of the guilty prisoners.

General Zaïontchek had been defeated in the battle of Gol-kof by the Russians, and the Prussians were marching on the Vistula. The King of Prussia had quitted his army on the Rhine in order to direct the siege and bombardment of Warsaw. Catherine affected to be indignant at this abandonment of the holy war which was to put down the Revolution and to help the common cause of kings and religion. The pretensions of Prussia in respect to Krakof disturbed the good understanding between the three powers of the North, disquieted Austria, and threatened to break the coalition formed against France. Frederic William, greatly disgusted with his Russian ally, General Krushtehof, countermanded the order for assault, and raised the siege, being recalled to his own dominions by an insurrection in Great Poland.

The Poles had hardly time to congratulate themselves on this success. The Russians were again in possession of Vilna; the Austrians had entered Lublin. Still more threatening was the fact that the Russian general, Fersen, had crossed to the right bank of the Vistula in spite of Poninski, and was advancing to meet Suvorof, who was coming up with the army of the Ukraina, and had already beaten Siérakovski at Kruphtchitsé and at Brest-Litovski. If the two Russian armies, each of which was superior to the whole Polish force, managed to effect a junction, the insurrection was crushed.

Kosciuszko, who had hastened to reinforce Siérakovski, speedily returned to take up a position at Matsiovitsui on the Vistula, equidistant from Warsaw and Lublin, where he meant to oppose Fersen. Around him were gathered his bravest lieutenants, — Pototski, Kaminski, Kolontai, Niemtsevitch, the patriotic poet and general. The evening before the battle Kaminski pointed out to Niemtsevitch the crows that were flying on their right. “Remember your Livy,” he said; “it is a bad omen.” “A bad omen for the Romans, not for us,” replied the brave poet. On the tenth of October, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, Krushtehof attacked

the van of the Poles, while Fersen ordered Denisof to lead the assault on the right, and Tormasof on the left. The Polish army, shaken by a violent cannonade, could not resist the charge of the bayonets. They gave way, and twenty-one guns and two thousand seven hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the Russians. All the generals were captured; Kosciuszko was carried off half dead by the hetman Denisof, but there is absolutely no truth in the commonly repeated story that he exclaimed, "*Finis Poloniæ.*" The Russian generals treated their prisoners well, and the officers tried to console the wounded Niemtsevitch by complimenting him on the "*Return from the other World,*" a poem in manuscript which they found in his pocket.

Warsaw was horror-stricken by this calamity. Vavrzhevski took the place of Kosciuszko, but proved no adequate substitute for the popular hero who had been the soul of the revolt. Suvorof was already before Praga, and the whole Russian army occupied its positions to the sound of drums and music. The impetuous general at once divided his army into seven columns. The Russian soldiers, on the eve of the assault, put on white shirts, as if for a wedding, and the holy images were placed at the head of the columns. At three o'clock on the morning of the fourth of November the signal was given, and in an instant the fosses were filled and the ramparts scaled. "The Poles," says a Russian witness, "defended themselves like heroes, with desperate recklessness." Praga suffered all the horrors of a capture by assault. In vain Suvorof renewed his orders "to spare the inhabitants, to give quarter to the vanquished, not to slay without a motive." The soldiers were too much exasperated against the Poles, whom they believed to be republicans, atheists, accomplices of the French Jacobins, murderers of their comrades, disarmed in the revolt of the seventeenth of April. The dead numbered twelve hundred, the prisoners only a thousand. "The streets are covered with corpses; blood

flows in torrents," says the first despatch of Suvorof. The massacre of Praga terrified Warsaw, which was ill protected by only the width of the Vistula from the Russian bullets. Suvorof refused to treat with Pototski and the men of the seventeenth of April, and King Stanislas had to act as mediator. Suvorof guaranteed to the inhabitants their property, a pardon, and offered passports to all persons who were compromised. He made his entrance into Warsaw, and was created field-marshal by the Empress. The King was sent to Grodno. The third treaty of partition, forced on the Empress by the importunity of Prussia, and in which Austria also took part, was put in execution in seventeen hundred and ninety-five. Russia took the rest of Lithuania as far as the Niemen, including Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, Novogrodek, Slonim, and the rest of Volhynia to the Bug, including Vladimir, Lutsk, and Kremenets. It thus attained the extreme limit of the countries formerly governed by the princely descendants of Rurik, except in the case of Galicia, for the Empress, whose policy had abandoned Poland to the Germans, allowed Austria to take Red Russia after the first partition. Besides the Russian territory, Russia also annexed the old Lithuania of the Iagelos, and finally acquired Kurland and Samogitia.

Prussia now possessed all Eastern Poland, with Warsaw; Austria had Krakof, Sandomir, Lublin, and Shelm. Its possessions extended towards the north, almost to the vicinity of Warsaw.

The Polish army of Vavrzhevski had refused to be included in the capitulation of Warsaw, but, agitated by the quarrels of its leaders, and weakened by want of discipline and desertion, it was obliged to accept an honorable convention at Radoshuitsé. The officers kept their swords, and obtained passports for foreign travel. The prisoners made at Matsiovitsui had been divided amongst the governments which had seized the places of their birth. Madalinski was sent to

Prussia; Kolontai and Zaiontchek to Austria; Kosciuszko, Kapostas, Kilinski, Pototski, and Vavrzhevski to Saint Petersburg. Poland was not yet dead: out of the remains of the army dispersed at Radoshuitsé, Dombrovski was to form the famous Polish legions, for twenty years inseparable from the banners of the French Republic and the Empire. We shall find Dombrovski in Egypt, Iosiph Poniatovski at Borodino. The Poles, defeated at Matsiovitsui, will meet their conquerors on all the battle-fields in Europe,—in Italy, in Switzerland, in Austria, in Prussia, in Poland, in Lithuania. Napoleon will satiate their vengeance against the robber powers, and, two hundred years after Vladislav, will lead the Polish troops into the holy city of Moscow.

CATHERINE THE SECOND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—WAR WITH PERSIA.

Just before the breaking out of the Revolution the two governments of Louis the Sixteenth and Catherine the Second entered into negotiations for the purpose of forming a quadruple alliance, including Russia, Austria, and both houses of Bourbon, which was destined to keep in check the naval pretensions of England and the encroachments of Prussia. After the taking of the Bastille, Catherine understood that she could no longer look to France, which was then occupied with its internal transformation, for support. She followed events in Paris, however, with much anxiety, showed the most lively antipathy to the new principles, was one of those who advised Louis the Sixteenth to take refuge in Varennes, and fell ill at the news of the execution of the King on the twenty-first of January. The correspondent of Voltaire and Diderot allowed herself to be carried away by terror into the opposite of liberalism. She had the bust of Voltaire taken down and cast among the rubbish of a lumber-room. She caused Russians suspected of liberal ideas to be watched, and their letters to be inspected; she mutilated Kniazhnin's tragedy of "Vadim at

Novgorod," and spoke of having it burned by the executioner ; Radishtchef, the author of the "Journey from Saint Petersburg to Moscow," a curious book, with many reflections on serfage, was dismissed and sent to Siberia ; Novikof was arrested and confined in Schlüsselburg, his publishing-houses and his printing-press closed, and all his enterprises ruined. She dismissed Genest, the French ambassador, and refused to recognize, first the Constitution of seventeen hundred and ninety-one, and then the Republic ; put forth an edict announcing the rupture of diplomatic relations with France ; forbade the tricolor flag to enter the Russian ports ; expelled all French subjects who refused to swear fidelity to the monarchic principle ; received the émigrés with open arms, and hastened to acknowledge Louis the Eighteenth.

In seventeen hundred and ninety-two she wrote the celebrated note on the restoration of the royal power and aristocratic privileges in France, assuring every one that ten thousand men would be sufficient to operate a counter-revolution. She encouraged Gustavus the Third, who was shortly afterwards assassinated by his nobility, at a masked ball, on March sixteenth, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, to put himself at the head of the crusade against democracy ; urged England to aid the Count of Artois in a scheme for a descent on France ; and stimulated the zeal of Austria and Prussia. In spite of all this, though she had many times consented to negotiate treaties of subsidies and promised troops, she took care never to engage in a war with the West. "My position is taken," she said, "my part assigned ; it is my duty to watch the Turks, the Poles, and Sweden." The latter became reconciled with France after the death of Gustavus the Third. The punishment of the Jacobins of Warsaw and Turkey was indeed more easy and certainly more lucrative work. Perhaps we must also take into account an admission that she made, in seventeen hundred and ninety-one, to her Vice-Chancellor Ostermann : "Am I wrong ? For reasons that I cannot

give to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, I wish to involve them in these affairs, so that I may have elbow-room. Many of my enterprises are still unfinished, and they must be occupied so as to leave me unfettered." She excused herself for not taking part in the anti-revolutionary contest, alleging the war with Turkey; and when obliged to hasten the Peace of Jassy on account of the revolution of the third of May, she made the Polish war another excuse. When the war was ended, she pretended to excite the zeal of Suvorof and his soldiers against the "atheists" of the West, but in reality only dreamed of forwarding her schemes in the East. Mohammed, the new king of Persia, had invaded Georgia and burnt Tiflis, the capital of Irakli, Catherine's protégé. The Empress sent for an exiled brother of Mohammed to her court, and ordered Valerian Zubof to conquer Persia.

In reality Catherine had been, against her will, more useful to France than to the coalition. By her intervention in Poland and her projects against the East, she had raised the jealousy and suspicions of Prussia and Austria. She took care to play off one against the other; made the second partition with Frederic William in spite of Austria; and with Francis the Second the third partition, which disgusted Prussia. She contributed indirectly to agitate and dissolve the coalition, whilst the Polish insurrection, encouraged by France, prevented her from joining it. She died on the sixth (or more properly the seventeenth) of November, seventeen hundred and ninety-six, aged sixty-seven years. No sovereign since Ivan the Terrible had extended the frontiers of the empire by such vast conquests. She had given Russia for boundaries the Niemen, the Dniester, and the Black Sea.

CHAPTER XII.

PAUL THE FIRST.

1796 – 1801.

PEACE POLICY: ACCESSION TO THE SECOND COALITION. — CAMPAIGNS OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND NAPLES. — ALLIANCE WITH BONAPARTE: THE LEAGUE OF THE NEUTRALS AND THE GREAT SCHEME AGAINST INDIA.

PEACE POLICY: ACCESSION TO THE SECOND COALITION.

PAVEL, or Paul the First, was forty-two years of age when he ascended the throne. He was intelligent, and had some natural gifts, but his character was soured by the close dependence in which he had been held by his mother, who had even deprived him of the education of his children, and forbade him to appear before the army, by the humiliations forced on him by the favorites, and by the isolation to which he was abandoned by the courtiers, who always took pains to pay court to the powers of the moment. The mystery surrounding his father's death troubled and disquieted him. There was a touch of Hamlet in Paul the First. Like Peter the Third, he had a taste for military minutiae which amounted to a mania. He had a high idea of his authority, and was born a despot. He is supposed to have uttered the famous saying, "Know that the only person of consideration in Russia is the person whom I address, and only during the time that I am addressing him." He hated the Revolution with a blind hate, such as even Catherine

could not feel. Many of his eccentricities of conduct may be explained by his desire always to take a course directly in opposition to his mother, whom he secretly accused of having usurped his crown. Without being cruel, he caused much unhappiness, since he was as prompt to chastise as to pardon, as prodigal of exiles to Siberia as of unexpected favors.

He began by abolishing the edict of Peter the Third about the succession, and re-established the monarchic principle of inheritance by primogeniture, from male to male in the direct line. He took advantage of his mother's obsequies to cause his father's remains to be exhumed, and to render the same honors to both sovereigns in the Church of the Fortress. Alexis Orlof had to march in procession by the coffin of his father, and to carry his crown. He did not punish his mother's favorites, but removed them from about his own person, giving his confidence to Rostoptchin and the austere Araktchéef. Bezborodko he confirmed in his place as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To re-establish the principle of authority, which he thought had been shaken in Russia, he revived the old rude manners, compelled the carriages of his subjects to halt when he passed, and made women as well as men salute him by throwing themselves on their knees in the mud or snow. He issued decrees full of minute provisions, forbidding the wearing of round hats, frock-coats, waistcoats, high collars, large neckties, and everything which savored of Jacobinism. He banished from the official language the words "society," "citizen," and other terms which his mother had delighted to honor. He made the censorship of the theatre and the press more rigorous than ever, forbade the importation of European books and music, forced the Russians who were travelling or studying abroad to return, and refused to allow any Frenchman to enter his territory, unless he were provided with a passport signed by the princes of the house of Bourbon.

In Catherine's last years grave abuses must have crept into

the army, and no one but an emperor with a genius for war could accomplish the reforms which were necessary if Russia were to keep pace with Western improvements in tactics and in arms. Paul unfortunately took up the reforms in his usual narrow spirit. He had a craze for Prussian methods, and abolished the Russian national uniform, convenient, soldier-like, and well suited to the climate as it was. The Russians did not recognize themselves in their Prussian costume, with pigtails, powder, shoe-buckles, shoes, gaiters, heavy caps, and uncomfortable hats. Old Suvorof shook his head and said, "Wig-powder is not gun-powder; curls are not cannon; a pigtail is not a sabre; I am not a Prussian, but a Russian born." This epigram, a roughly rhymed quatrain in the original, was punished by the exile of the martial humorist to his village of Kutchevskoé. There he could bestride a cane and play horse with the small boys of the district, ring the church bells, read the epistle, and play the organ to his heart's content. Paul showed more method and common-sense when he tried to reform the finances, which had been impaired in the last years of Catherine by endless wars, the dishonesty of officials, the luxury of the court, and the prodigal gifts bestowed on favorites.

As to foreign affairs, Paul's early policy was peaceful. He discontinued the levying of recruits in the way that his mother had been accustomed to do — that is, in the proportion of three men to every five hundred souls. He withdrew his forces from Persia, and left Georgia to take care of its own destiny. To the Poles he even showed some pity, recalled prisoners from Siberia, transferred King Stanislas from Grodno to Saint Petersburg, visited Kosciuszko at Schlüsselburg, and set him, with the other captives, at liberty. He bade Koluitchef, Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin, tell the King of Prussia that he was neither for conquest nor aggrandizement. He dictated to Ostermann a circular which was to be communicated to foreign powers, in which he declared that Russia, and Russia

alone, had not ceased from waging war since seventeen hundred and fifty-six; that these forty years of war had exhausted the nation; that the Emperor's humanity did not allow him to refuse his beloved subjects the peace for which they were longing; that though for these reasons the Russian army would take no part in the contest with France, nevertheless, "the Emperor would remain as closely as ever united with his allies, and oppose by all possible means the progress of the mad French republic, which threatened Europe with total ruin, by the destruction of its laws, privileges, property, religion, and manners." He refused all armed assistance to Austria, then alarmed by Bonaparte's victories in Italy; he recalled the vessels sent by Catherine to join the English fleet in blockading the coasts of France and Holland. He even received the overtures made by Caillard, the French envoy in Prussia, to the Russian envoy Kolutchef, and caused the latter to observe "that the Emperor did not consider himself at war with the French, that he had done nothing to harm them, that he was disposed to live in peace with them, and that he would persuade his allies to finish the war, offering to this end the mediation of Russia."

But difficulties soon arose between France and Russia. The treaty of Campo Formio had given the Ionian Islands to the French, who thus acquired a position threatening to the East, and a greater influence over the Divan. The Directorate authorized Dombrowski to organize Polish legions in Italy. Panin at Berlin intercepted a letter from the Directorate to the French envoy, in which there was a question of the restoration of Poland, under a prince of Brandenburg. Paul, on his side, took into his pay the corps of the Prince of Condé, and stationed ten thousand émigrés in Volhynia and Podolia. He offered an asylum to Louis the Eighteenth, who was expelled from Brunswick, established him in the ducal palace of Mitava, and gave him a pension of two hundred thousand rubles. The news that a French expedition was being mys-

teriously organized at Toulon caused him to tremble for the security of the coasts of the Black Sea, which were immediately put into a state of defence. The capture of Zagurski, Russian Consul at Corfu; the reduction of Malta by Bonaparte, and the arrival at Saint Petersburg of the banished knights, who offered Paul the protectorate of their order, with the title of Grand Master; the invasion of the Swiss territory by the Directorate; the expulsion of the Pope and the proclamation of the Roman Republic, — all precipitated the rupture.

Paul further concluded an alliance with Turkey, which was irritated at the invasion of Egypt, and also with England, Austria, and the kingdom of Naples. It was thus that, owing to Bonaparte's double aggression against Malta and Egypt, Russia and Turkey were forced, contrary to all traditions, to make common cause. Paul undertook that his fleet should join the Turkish and English squadrons, to furnish a body of troops to make a descent upon Holland, and another to conquer the Ionian Islands, besides a great auxiliary army for the campaigns in Switzerland and Italy.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND NAPLES.

In the autumn of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight a Turco-Russian fleet captured the French garrisons of the Ionian Islands. Among the powers opposed to France, Naples was the first to take the field. The unlucky Colonel Mack was summoned from Vienna to organize the wretched army which the Queen had managed to collect. Championnet was the commander of the French forces stationed in the vicinity of Rome. On the twenty-fifth of November the Neapolitan army suddenly invaded the territory of the Roman republic in five divisions. The strongest column, consisting of thirty thousand men, under the command of the King, directed its course upon Rome, which Championnet immedi-



CHURCH OF PETER AND PAUL IN THE FORTRESS

ately evacuated so as to unite his forces farther to the North. Although Ferdinand entered the Holy City with all possible pomp, when he found that the French had closed in on every side of him, he took his favorite, the Duca d'Ascoli, and, exchanging clothes with him, secretly deserted his army and returned to Naples on the tenth of December. Seventeen days after the Neapolitan army had entered Rome the French returned in the full glory of conquest. Meanwhile in Naples cowardice had shown itself everywhere, but nowhere more strikingly than in the King. He ordered all his ships of war to be burnt, and hastened himself to Palermo. The lower classes, seeing the fearful conflagration, suspected treachery in the generals, and a tumult broke out which threatened Mack and his officers with destruction. The King then fled under Nelson's protection to Sicily, and appointed as Viceroy Prince Pignatelli, one of the Queen's favorites, a man of the lowest qualities. When the people heard that Pignatelli had sent a messenger to Championnet without asking permission of the city authorities, that Capua had been evacuated by Mack, and that the French had gained all the approaches to the town without striking a blow, they immediately formed into a kind of assembly, and strengthened themselves by a choice of officers from the nobility and middle classes, so that they were ready to act against not only Mack and the Viceroy, but also the French. Mack and Pignatelli had persuaded the French to agree to a truce of two months on the condition that certain strongholds should be evacuated and that the city of Naples should pay the French ten million francs. But when the French delegates came to collect the first half of this impost, a great tumult arose, and thousands of the *lazzaroni* stormed Castel Nuovo, or the New Port, and collecting arms at the arsenal, hastened against Pignatelli's palace. The Viceroy then followed the King's example, and fled to Sicily, where he was confined in prison for desertion. Mack, in January, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, resigned his

position as Neapolitan general, and in the uniform of an Austrian took refuge with Championnet, who received him with kindness.

The uproar increased in the city, and finally every one, not a lazzarone or priest, who was found on the street was ruthlessly murdered. Championnet, on the twentieth of January, divided his army into four columns, and endeavored to penetrate the city by four different gates. Every step was bought with blood; every house was transformed into a castle, and though the skill of the French and their well-directed artillery did great execution, and though the natives fought without officers, yet it was only on the third day that the bloody conflict came to an end. Before the thousand Frenchmen and three thousand Neapolitans who had lost their lives were buried, the new republic was declared. The French made a triumphal entry, Championnet took up his abode in the King's palace, and the Philosopher of Southern Italy, Maria Pagano, was summoned to prepare the constitution of the new state, which was called the Parthenopean Republic, after the old name of Naples.

The Russian army in Holland was put under the orders of Hermann, that of Switzerland under those of Rinski-Korsakof, while, at the request of Austria and the suggestion of England, the victor of Fokshany and Ruimnik was appointed to the Austro-Russian army of Upper Italy. Paul the First, flattered by this mark of deference, recalled Suvorof from his village exile. "Suvorof has no need of laurels," wrote the Tsar, "but the country has need of Suvorof."

The Directorate, taken by surprise, having not only France to protect, but likewise the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Neapolitan republics, — that is to say, the vast line of country that extends from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Taranto, — had very inferior numbers to oppose to those of the coalition: in Holland twenty thousand men, under Brune, against forty thousand Anglo-Russians, under

York and Hermann ; on the Rhine, fifty thousand, under Bernadotte and Jourdan, against the seventy thousand of the Archduke Charles ; in Switzerland, thirty thousand, under Masséna, against Hotze and Bellegarde, who had seventy thousand Austrians in the Vorarlberg and the Tyrol ; in Upper Italy, fifty thousand, under Scherer, against the sixty thousand Austrians of Kray ; at Naples, thirty thousand, under Macdonald, against thirty thousand English, Russians, and Sicilians.

At last the Russians arrived in Switzerland, forty thousand in number, under Rimski-Korsakof ; in Italy, to the number of forty thousand, divided into two corps, that of Rosenberg and that of Rebinder, with Suvorof in chief command. Consequently the French had only one hundred and eighty thousand to oppose to three hundred and fifty thousand allies.

When Suvorof passed through Vienna, and was offered the position of Austrian field-marshal, he took it on the condition that he should be subject only to the Emperor, not to the Hof-Kriegsrath, the Aulic council of war. He therefore refused to communicate his schemes to Thugut, the acting minister. When the Austrians questioned him as to his plan of campaign, he showed a blank paper signed by the Emperor Paul. His object, he declared, was Paris, where he would restore the throne and the altar. To his soldiers he repeated the formulæ of his military catechism : “ A sudden glance, rapidity, impetuosity ! The van of the army is not to wait for the rear ! Musket-balls are fools ; bayonets are the fine fellows ! The French beat the Austrians in columns, and we will beat them in columns.” He scoffed at the slowness and pedantry of the Hof-Kriegsrath. “ Parades, manœuvres ! too much confidence in their talents ! To know how to conquer, well ; but to be always beaten is not smart ! The Emperor of Germany desires that, when I have to give battle to-morrow, I should first address myself to the Court of Vienna. The accidents of war change rapidly ; one cannot be tied down

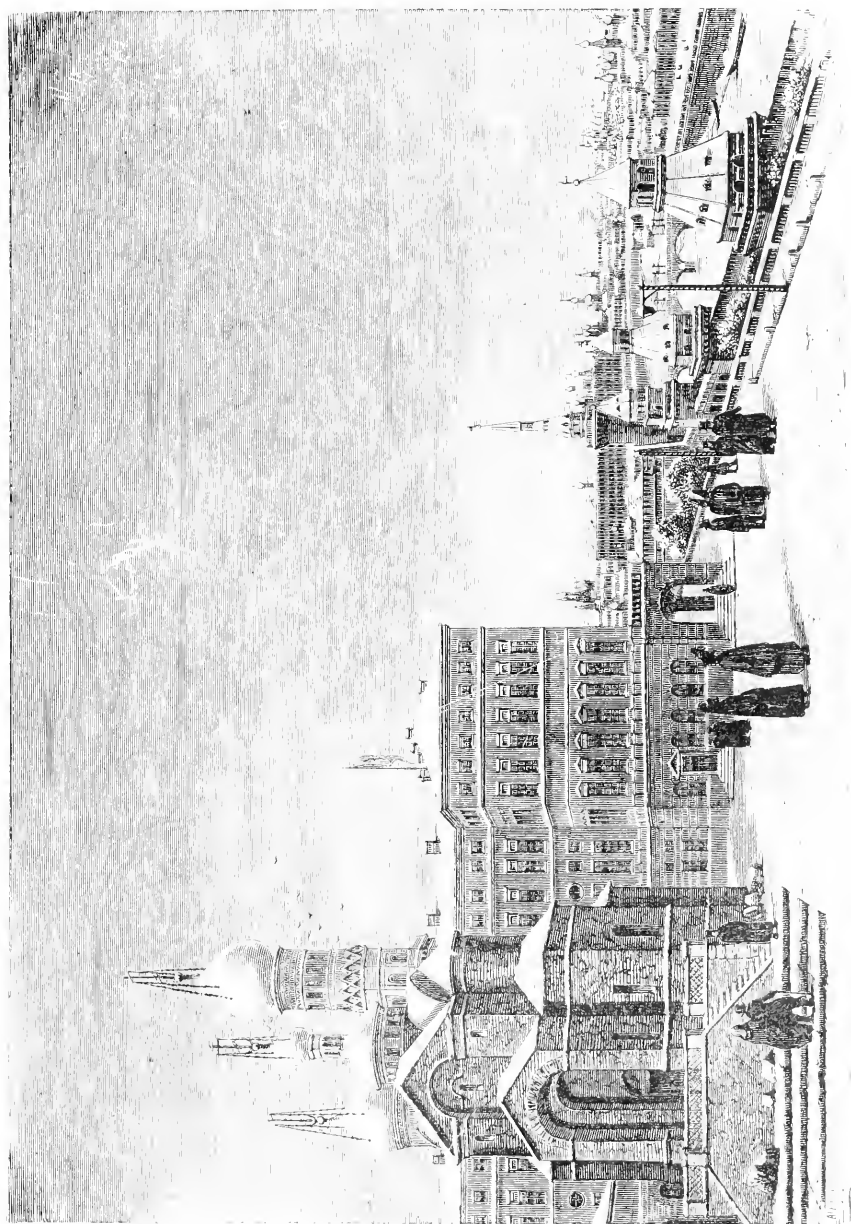
to a fixed plan. Fortune flies like the lightning : one must seize opportunity by the forelock ; it will never come back."

The Austrians had already defeated Jourdan at Stokach, March twenty-ninth, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, and Scherer at Magnano, April ninth. Masséna, although victorious at the first battle of Zurich, had been obliged to retreat behind the Limmat and the Linth, on the heights of the Albis. On the twenty-eighth of April, Austria, believing that where the French were concerned it might violate with impunity the law of nations, assassinated their plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Suvorof, on his arrival at Verona, took the command of the allied forces.

The Austro-Russian army numbered about ninety thousand ; the French, under Moreau, no more than thirty thousand, which included the Italian legions and three or four thousand men of the Polish legions. These Poles represented the Slav element in the French army, as the Russians did in that of the coalition. This quarrel of kinsmen, which began at Matsiovitsui and Warsaw, was to be continued on the bank of the Adda. Suvorof surprised the passage of this river at Cassano, on April twenty-eighth, penetrated the centre of Moreau's division, and surrounded the right wing ; Serrurier and about three thousand men were made prisoners.

Moreau retired into Piedmont ; imperilled next by the loss of Ceva and of Turin, he was forced to take refuge in the Alps. Suvorof made his entry into Milan amidst the acclamations of the nobles, the priests, the excited populace, of all the enemies of the Revolution, and abolished the Cisalpine Republic. But, harassed by the advice of the Hof-Kriegsrath, instead of attacking the fifteen thousand men who remained with Moreau, he amused himself by laying siege to Mantua, Alessandria, and the citadel of Turin.

Macdonald hastened from the end of the Peninsula with the army of Naples. After having opened communications with Moreau, he conceived the project of throwing himself



PALACE OF PAUL THE FIRST.

between Alessandria and Mantua, and separating the two principal bodies of the allied army. He defeated the Austrians on the Tidona, but came up with Suvorof on the Trebbia. The battle lasted three days, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth of June : the ferocity of the French, Russians, and Poles rendered it extremely bloody. On the seventeenth the French amounted to only twenty-eight thousand against forty thousand ; the next day twenty-four thousand against thirty-six thousand : numbers were sure to tell. Each army lost from ten to twelve thousand men, and Macdonald hastened to rejoin Moreau in the gorges of the Alps. Mantua had capitulated. In the South the Anglo-Russians, allied with the banditti of Cardinal Ruffo and of the brigand Michael Pezza whom the people called Fra Diavolo, expelled the French garrisons from Neapolitan territory. A frightful reaction flooded the streets of Naples with blood, and two thousand houses were burned by the bandits and lazzaroni in July, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

The Directorate made a last effort to reconquer Italy. The army of the Alps, increased by new reinforcements to forty thousand men, was placed under the command of General Joubert, who had said to his young wife, " You will see me either dead or victorious." Joubert wished to relieve Alessandria, and to prevent this Suvorof marched quickly up with seventy thousand men, and gave him battle at Novi on August fifteenth. Joubert was killed at the beginning of the action. The two armies each lost eight thousand men, and the remains of the Polo-French troops fell back into the mountains of Genoa. Italy was lost to France ; the Cisalpine, Roman, and Neapolitan republics were extinguished.

The Russians and Austrians separated after the victory. The German generals could not endure the vanity of Suvorof, who had been given the additional title of *Kniaz Italiiski*. Thugut was even more disturbed by his peculiar views of policy. *Italiiski* imagined that he had fought for the restoration

of sovereigns, and not for the private ambition of the house of Austria. He wished therefore to establish a national government in Piedmont, and to reorganize the Piedmontese army under its own standard. But Thugut cared nothing about the restoration of Victor-Amadeus, or of the Pope. The misunderstanding increased; it was decided that Suvorof should abandon Italy, and join Rinski-Korsakof in Switzerland, so as to defend the snowy mountains of Helvetia with a purely Russian army. Suvorof, who already saw himself in Franche-Comté and on the route to Paris, accepted the work.

In Switzerland, after the first battle of Zürich, Masséna had retired to the heights of the Albis, behind the line formed by the Linth, the lake of Zürich, and the Limmat. He had been opposed in his movements by the Archduke Charles, with twenty-five thousand men; by Korsakof, with twenty-eight thousand Russians; and by Hotze, with twenty-seven thousand Austrians. The Archduke was about to evacuate Switzerland and lay siege to Philippsburg, and he was to be replaced by Suvorof with twenty thousand men. It would be a critical moment for the allies when the Archduke should have evacuated Switzerland and Suvorof should not yet have arrived, and this was the moment eagerly awaited by Masséna. He had now sixty thousand men against fifty-five thousand, which the army of Suvorof, Prince of Italy, would increase to seventy-five thousand. On the twenty-fifth of September Masséna surprised the passage of the Limmat near Diétikon, and cut the Russian army in two. The Russian grenadiers who defended Diétikon fought till their powder was exhausted, refused to surrender, and died in their ranks. The other corps were defeated one after the other. Korsakof, forced back upon Zürich, caused the gates to be closed. In the night Masséna sent him envoys, who were captured or repulsed by musketry. On the twenty-sixth of September Korsakof formed an immense square of fifteen thousand men, and

attacked the French. "This dense and impenetrable mass," says Major Masson, "had always driven the enemy before it at every point." But this system of tactics, which had been successful against the Poles and the Turks, was certain to fail against the French. Decimated by the sharpshooters and light artillery, shaken by a general charge of cavalry, and infantry with bayonets, the Russians had to fall back into Zürich, leaving the field of battle covered with dead, and with wounded, who pressed holy images and relics to their breasts. They had lost six thousand men, their guns, the army treasure, the official papers, and sacred plate. Korsakof fled to Egli-sau. Then Masséna made Udinet attack Zürich and the Swiss legion, and took all the Russian stores and baggage. It was here that the celebrated Lavater perished, killed by a drunken Swiss soldier. On the twenty-fifth Soult, on his side, had crossed the Linth, and defeated Hotze, who was killed. The allies retreated in disorder on Schaffhausen, with a loss of ten thousand prisoners, twenty Austrian cannons, and nearly all the Russian artillery.

Such was the victory of Zürich. "Bonaparte," says M. Duruy, "has no more glorious battle, for the victories which insure the salvation of a country are worth more than those which only add to its power or the glory of its chiefs."

Suvorof, however, had arrived, by dint of forced marches, at Taverno, near Bellinzona. The Austrian administration had neglected to gather together a sufficient number of sumpter mules for the passage of the Alps, and Suvorof lost four precious days, which were spent in impressing them from the surrounding country. He reached only as far as the Saint Gothard on the twenty-first, and crossed it under immense difficulties, after a sharp skirmish with some French detachments stationed on the mountains. He plunged at once into the narrow valley of the Reuss, enclosed between mountains so precipitous that the road many times crosses the torrent, notably at the Pont du Diable.

“In this kingdom of terrors,” writes Suvorof in his despatch to Paul, “abysses open beside us at every step, like tombs awaiting our arrival. Nights spent among the clouds, thunder that never ceases, rain, fog, the noise of cataracts, the crashing of avalanches, enormous masses of rocks and ice which fall from the heights, torrents which sometimes carry men and horses down the precipices, the Saint Gothard, that colossus which sees the mists pass under it, — we have surmounted all, and in these inaccessible spots the enemy has been forced to give way before us. Words fail to describe the horrors we have seen, and in the midst of which Providence has preserved us.” The impression produced on the natives of the great Russian plains by the grandeur of the Swiss Alps is graphically sketched in the curious “Narrative of an Old Soldier,” the memoirs of an eyewitness who was a companion of Suvorof.

The tenacious Lecourbe, charged by Masséna to retard the Russian advance, had only eleven thousand men, but with them he expected to “crush Suvorof in the mountains.” At Hospital he disputed the passage of the Reuss, cannonaded the Russians till his ammunition was exhausted, threw his artillery into the stream, went down to defend the Pont du Diable, which he blew up, and finally fell back on Seedorf, where he broke down the bridge. Suvorof crossed the precipitous chain of Schachenthal, and only reached Altdorf and Multenthal on the twenty-sixth, having lost two thousand men on the way. It was here that he heard of the disaster of Zürich and the flight of Korsakof, and that he grasped the full horror of his situation; lost in the heart of the mountains, betrayed by the carelessness of his allies, enclosed in Multenthal as it were in a mouse-trap, surrounded on all sides by a victorious army, with numbers superior to his own. On his rear Gudin had again occupied the Upper Reuss; on the road to Stanz Lecourbe had taken up a position at Seedorf; on the road to Schwitz Masséna had concentrated the corps of Mortier;

on the road to Glarus Molitor was posted, whom Soult was about to reinforce. This was the most splendid moment of Suvorof's life. His heroic retreat is more glorious than his victories in Italy, which were gained with superior forces ; no general in such a desperate situation ever showed more indomitable energy than this little man, now nearly seventy years old. He resolved to cross Mont Bragel, though the snow was sixty-five centimeters deep, and to cut a way by the Kleintal and the route to Glarus. His rearguard, left in the Mulenthal, resisted for three days the assaults of Masséna, thus protecting the retreat of the army, while the vanguard took Glarus, and forced Molitor back on Naefels. There Molitor checked the Russians, who were obliged to retire on the Rindskopff, on whose glaciers many hundreds of men perished. Thence they succeeded in gaining Illanz, Coire, and Feldkirch. Suvorof, with the gallant remnant of his army, took up his winter-quarters between the Iller and the Lech.

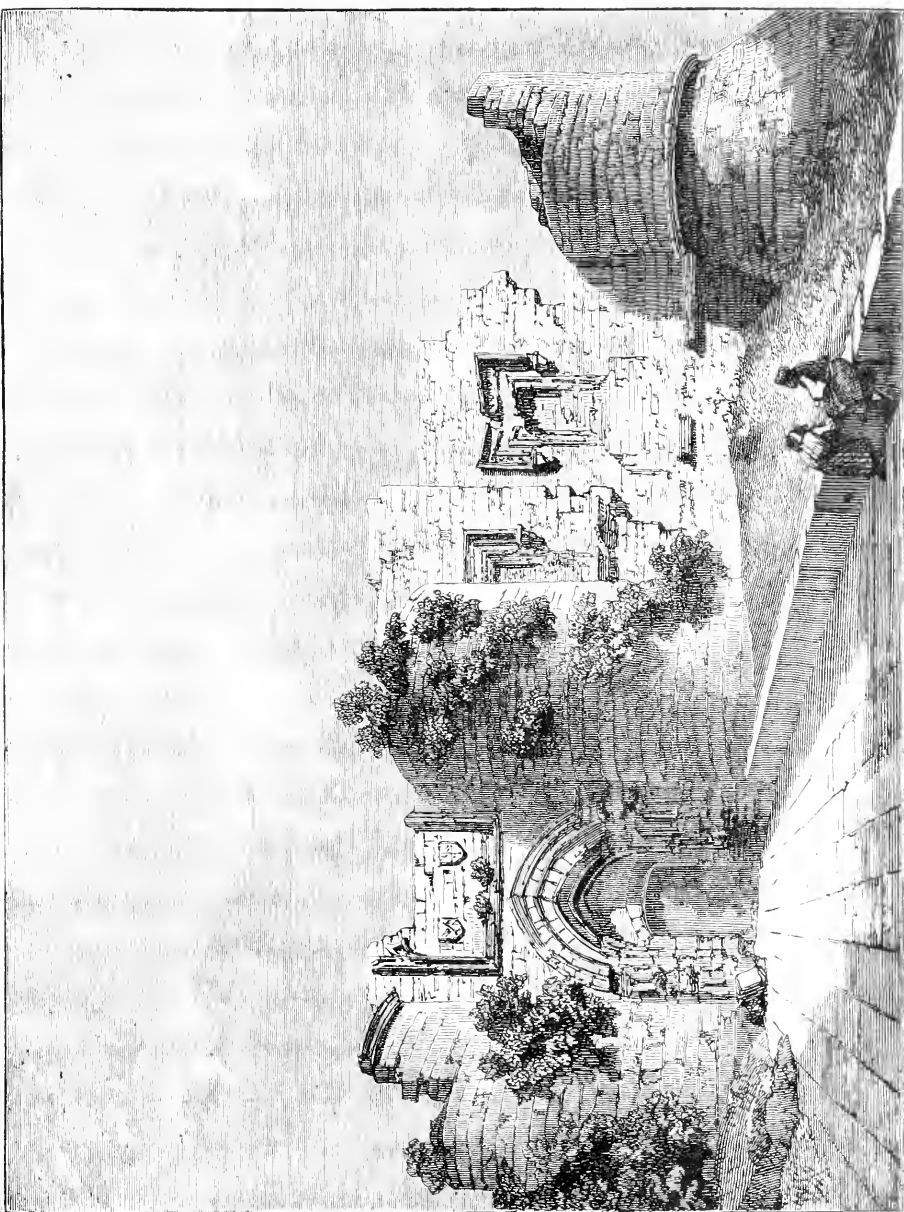
On the twenty-seventh of August the Anglo-Russians had disembarked on the Texel, and captured the Dutch fleet, but the Batavian populations remained faithful to the cause of liberty, and on the nineteenth of September Brune, reinforced, defeated the allies at Bergen. He then fought them in four other battles, besieged them in Zyp, and made Alkmaer and the Duke of York capitulate on October eighteenth. The Anglo-Russian army obtained leave to march out. The remains of the Russian forces re-embarked ; but being coldly received in England, they were, so to speak, " interned " in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

Masséna and Brune had saved the frontiers of the republic, prepared the ruin of the coalition, and deprived the coup-d'état of Brumaire of all excuse.

ALLIANCE WITH BONAPARTE: THE LEAGUE OF THE
NEUTRALS, AND THE GREAT SCHEME AGAINST
INDIA.

Paul the First, Suvorof, and all Russia accused Austria of treason. The Emperor Francis, by the advice of England, humbly consented to explain the misunderstanding which had lost Korsakof, and almost lost Suvorof. The Tsar, a little softened, suspended the retreat of the Russian army, but insisted in return on the recall of Thugut, and the restoration of the Italian princes to their reconquered States. Austria could not relish this disinterested policy, or renounce its plans. Thugut, threatened with the loss of his post, labored to complete the rupture. It was insinuated to the Russian Emperor that the maintenance of his troops in Bohemia constituted a heavy charge for the hereditary States. The irritable Tsar learned in addition that a conflict had taken place at the siege of Ancona. This maritime station was being besieged by the Austrians, Russians, and Turks; the Austrian general secretly concluded a capitulation with the French, stipulated that his soldiers alone should be admitted into the fortress, and caused the Turkish and Russian flags, which had been fixed on the ramparts beside his own, to be removed. This insult to his banner completed Paul's exasperation.

Similar diplomatic results followed after the defeat at Bergen; a quarrel with England, which was likewise accused of treason, soon succeeded to the dispute with Austria. Bonaparte, who promptly destroyed at Marengo all the fruits of Suvorof's victories, who appeared to the Russians almost as an avenger against the perfidy of the Austrians, — Bonaparte, whose despotic principles reassured the Tsar, and whose glory blinded him, cleverly turned to account Paul's irritation. He began by declaring that he returned, without exchange, all the Russian prisoners, newly equipped at the expense of France. Paul was the more touched by this action, as Austria and England had refused to exchange the Russian sol-



PALACE OF THE GRAND MASTER MALTA

diers for the French prisoners whom they held. Negotiations were opened by means of Berlin, and the French and Russian agents at Hamburg. Bonaparte took care to attack the Tsar on his weak sides, his easily offended dignity and his affectation of chivalrous disinterestedness. He offered to indemnify the King of Sardinia, to re-establish the Pope in Rome, and to recognize Paul as Grand Master of Malta, and owner of the island. Malta was at that time blockaded by the English, who in September, eighteen hundred, made themselves masters of it. Their refusal to relinquish this important post to Paul the First greatly irritated him. Disturbed by the maritime tyranny of Great Britain, which had declared the ports of France and its allies in a state of siege, and had begun once more the system of vexations against the neutral ships, Paul renewed the famous Act of Armed Neutrality, and sought the support of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. Bonaparte hastened to express his assent to the Russian principles. During this time General Sprengtporten, who, under pretext of taking command of the Russian prisoners in Paris, had been sent on a secret mission, was followed there by Kolutchef, charged with more precise instructions. Kolutchef was particularly to persuade Bonaparte to take the title of King himself, and to make it hereditary in his family, as the only means "of changing the revolutionary principles which have armed all Europe against France." On this point the First Consul was only too well disposed. Negotiations began on the following bases: France was to respect the integrity of Naples and Würtemberg, to re-establish the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, while reserving Savoy for itself, and to retain the left bank of the Rhine, subject to an understanding with Russia, for the indemnification of the depossessed princes. It was under the Franco-Russian mediation that secularization was to take place in Germany.

Paul, with his usual impetuosity, was possessed by a daily increasing passion for Bonaparte; he surrounded himself with

his portraits, drank his health publicly, and abruptly ordered Louis the Eighteenth to quit Mitava.

It was then that the two sovereigns arranged together the great scheme that had for its object the complete overthrow of the English rule in India. France still occupied Egypt; it was authorized to keep garrisons in the southern ports of the kingdom of Naples; the French agents traversed Arabia and the Indian States. Paul on his side, to secure himself a basis of operations, ordered his troops to the Caucasus, and, at the request of the son of Irakli, pronounced Gruzia, or Georgia, to be united to the empire. The expedition against English India was to be made by two different routes; the command of a Russian army, destined for the Upper Indus by way of Khiva and Bokhara, was given to Knorring. In January, Orlof-Denisof, Ataman of the Don Cossacks, received letters from Paul, desiring him to begin his movement on Orenburg. "The English are preparing for an attack by land and sea against me and my allies, the Swedes and the Danes; I am ready to receive them. But it is necessary to be beforehand with them, and to attack them on their most vulnerable point, and on the side where they least expect it. It is three months' march from Orenburg to Hindostan, and it takes another month to get from the encampments of the Don to Orenburg, making in all four months. To you and your army I confide this expedition. Assemble therefore your men, and begin your march to Orenburg; thence, by whichever of the three routes you prefer, or by all, you will go straight with your artillery to Bokhara, Khiva, the river Indus, and the English settlements in India. The troops of the country are light troops, like yours; you will therefore have over them all the advantage of your artillery. Prepare everything for this campaign. Send your scouts to reconnoitre and repair the roads. All the treasures of the Indies shall be your recompense. . . . Such an enterprise will cover you with immortal glory, will secure you my good-will in pro-

portion to your services, will load you with riches, give an opening to our commerce, and strike the enemy a mortal blow."

"India, to which I send you, is governed by a supreme head, called the Great Mogul, and a number of small sovereigns. The English possess commercial establishments there, which they have acquired by means of money, or conquered by force of arms. The object of this campaign is to ruin these establishments, to free the oppressed sovereigns, to put them with regard to Russia in the same state of dependence that they now are with regard to the English, and finally to secure for ourselves the commerce of those regions. . . . Be sure to remember that you are only at war with the English, and the friend of all who do not give them help. On your march you will assure men of the friendship of Russia. From the Indus you will go to the Ganges. On the way you will occupy Bokhara, to prevent the natives from going over to China. At Khiva you will deliver some thousands of my subjects who are kept prisoners there. If you need infantry, I will send it to follow in your footsteps. There is no other way, but it will be best if you can be sufficient for yourselves." In February he wrote: "The expedition is urgent; the earlier the better."

Such were the instructions, a little premature and inconsequent, that Paul sent daily with incomplete maps to Orlof-Denisof. These letters abound in contradictions. He promises his Cossacks all the wealth of the Indies, and forbids them to attack princes who remain neutral; in the same line he enjoins them to free the princes, and to place them under the sovereignty of Russia. To go from the Don to the Volga, from the Ural to the Indus, from the Indus to the Ganges, is far from being an easy undertaking, and he intrusts the Ataman, besides, with missions to Khiva and Bokhara. These letters of Paul, published by the *Russkaïa Starina*, made some noise in the Russian press at the beginning of the present quarrels with England.

This plan really began to be executed, as we see by the "Memoirs of the Ataman Denisof," nephew of the late Ataman, published in the same collection. He assembled eleven regiments of Cossacks, and succeeded in crossing the Volga on the floating ice, in the midst of unheard-of difficulties. This vanguard of the great Cossack army had reached the left bank of the river, when in March, eighteen hundred and one, its chief suddenly received the news of the death of the Emperor, and the order to return.

The other expedition was to be composed of thirty-five thousand French and thirty-five thousand Russians, at whose head Paul, with noble and chivalrous feeling, insisted on placing the victor of Zürich, Masséna. The thirty-five thousand French were to start from the banks of the Rhine, descend the Danube in ships furnished them by the Austrian government, embark at the mouth in Russian ships, which would transport them to Taganrog, then go up the Don as far as Piaty-Isbanskaïa, cross the Volga at Tsaritsuin, drop down as far as Astrakhan, and thence, navigating the Caspian in Russian vessels, arrive at Asterabad on the Persian shore, where the thirty-five thousand Russians would await them. The combined army was then to march by way of Herat, Ferah, and Kandahar to the Upper Indus, and begin the war against the English. This project, on the margin of which are scrawled the criticisms of Bonaparte and the reply by the Emperor of Russia, enters into the most minute details. Twenty days were reckoned to descend the Danube, fifty-five days to reach Asterabad, and forty-five to arrive at the Indus, or one hundred and twenty days in all, from the Rhine to Scinde. Aërostaticians, artificers, and a body of savants such as went to Egypt, were to accompany the expedition. The French government was to send precious objects, the produce of the national industry.

"Distributed with tact among the princes of these countries, and offered with the grace and courtesy natural to the

French," says the Russian note, "these gifts will enable these races to form the highest idea of the magnificence of French industry and power, and will in consequence open an important branch of commerce." To inspire the people with the most exalted conception of France and Russia, brilliant fêtes were to be given, accompanied by such military evolutions "as celebrate in Paris great events and memorable epochs." Paul the First seemed to be reconciled to the anniversaries of the Revolution.

It does not appear that Paul ever doubted the success of this hazardous expedition. Bonaparte naturally made this objection: "Supposing the combined army to be reunited at Asterabad, how do you propose that it should get to India through countries almost barbarous, and without any resources, having to march a distance of three hundred leagues, from Asterabad to the frontiers of Hindostan?" The Tsar replied that these countries were neither barbarous nor arid, that caravans traversed them every year and made the journey in thirty-five or forty days, and that in seventeen hundred and thirty-nine and seventeen hundred and forty Nadir Shah had marched through the reverse way, from Delhi to the Caspian. Paul ended by saying: "The French and Russian armies are eager for glory; they are brave, patient, and unwearied; their courage, their perseverance, and the wisdom of their leaders will know how to surmount all obstacles. . . . What a really Asiatic army did in seventeen hundred and thirty-nine and seventeen hundred and forty, we cannot doubt that an army of French and Russians can do to-day!"

On the Continent, Paul did his best to make Prussia declare against England. The League of Neutrality made the British government so uneasy, that, notwithstanding the peace, Admirals Parker and Nelson seized the Danish fleet in the naval battle of Copenhagen, on the second of April, eighteen hundred and one. An event still more extraordinary broke up the coalition.

On the night of the twenty-third of March, eighteen hundred and one, the Emperor was assassinated. For some time Paul's capricious wilfulness and his violent acts of authority had tended to alienate those who were associated with him. There was no one who felt safe about himself or his friends. The Russian nobility secretly disapproved of his eager desire for war, first with France, and afterwards with England, the rupture of friendly relations with which, by putting a stop to the export of corn, hemp, and other raw products, affected most seriously the income of the landed proprietors. Many times Paul had used threatening language against his wife and his oldest son, Alexander, and he was charged with the intention of annulling his edict of inheritance, and of changing the order of succession. The Court became accustomed to the notion of a revolution which should result in depriving him of his crown, though not of his life, and of calling Alexander to the throne. Count Panin, at one time minister at Berlin, often discussed this project with Alexander, and gradually overcame his scruples. He soon found the man who was needful for the execution of his design. Count Pahlen, a Livonian noble, became the soul of the conspiracy, and took advantage of his position as governor of the capital, and chief of the police, to conceal the development of it. The bold frankness of his answers calmed whatever suspicions the Tsar might feel. One day Paul asked him point-blank if he remembered what took place in seventeen hundred and sixty-two. "Yes, sire, I was sergeant of the guard at that time." "They seem to be going to begin again to-day," said the Emperor, handing him a note which revealed some particulars of the plot. "Sire, I was aware of the fact, and in order better to find out who were your enemies, I have felt it my duty myself to play the part of a conspirator." According to Sablukof's account, Pahlen's mode of action was rigorously to execute the Emperor's most absurd orders, so as to increase the number of his enemies. If he heard any one complain of Paul, he

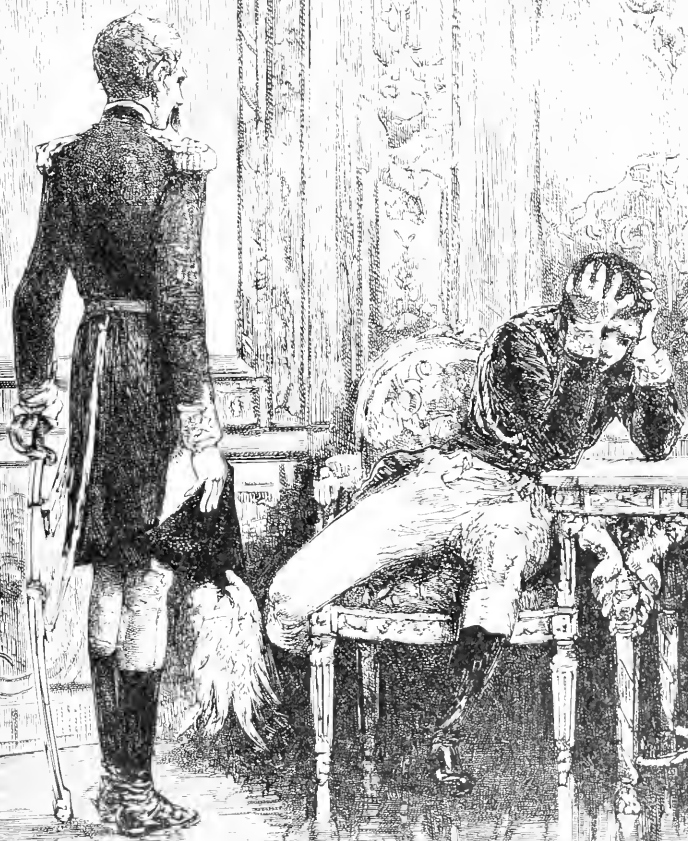


COPENHAGEN.

looked him straight in the eye, and said simply, "The — speaks, the wise man acts." He fanned Alexander's suspicions against his father and Paul's hatred of his son. He won Taluizin, Colonel of the Preobrazhenski, and many young officers of the guard; moreover, in this conspiracy against Paul were several names famous in the conspiracy against Peter the Third; they were the children of the first regicides, the "Epigonoi" of seventeen hundred and sixty-two. Pahlen associated with him the Hanoverian Bennigsen, a man of remarkable boldness and energy. One day Pahlen was asked what would be the result if the Emperor refused to abdicate: "You must break your eggs when you want to make an omelet," was his reply. Unworthy elements also were mingled in this conspiracy: Platon Zubof, Catherine's last favorite, his brother Nikolai, their sister, who was hand and glove with the English party, and on terms of familiarity with the British embassy, together with courtiers who had grown wealthy on the spoils of Poland during the preceding reign, and feared that Paul would make them reimburse the Poles, whose property they had. Paul had just disgraced Rostoptchin and banished Araktchéf, both of them devotedly attached to him. When he reconsidered his sentence and wrote them to return, it was too late; he was already in the power of his enemies. On the twenty-third of March Paul sent an order to his minister in Berlin to put a stop to the indecision of Prussia by threatening the King with war, and Pahlen had the boldness to add the following postscript in his own handwriting: "His imperial majesty is not well to-day; his illness may have important results." That evening the palace was under the guard of the Semenovski, many of whose officers had been won over to the plot. While the conspirators went to the Emperor's chamber, Pahlen was on the watch, ready, it is said by some narrators, himself to hand them over to Paul should the plot fail. Bennigsen, sword in hand, presented Paul an act of abdication to sign; a struggle ensued, the lamp which

lighted the room fell, and in the darkness Paul the First was thrown to the floor by Nikolai Zubof or by Prince Iashvil, and strangled with an officer's scarf. On the twenty-fourth of March Alexander, who had not expected this terrible event, was proclaimed Emperor.

England could not help being satisfied by the simultaneous news of the destruction of the Danish fleet and the terrible death of the Tsar, who was the soul of the coalition. In France the consternation was great. Bonaparte, who saw the downfall of his vast projects, could not contain himself. He caused the following lines, full of rage and hate against England, to be printed in the *Moniteur*, making himself the mouthpiece of an absurd suspicion: "It is for history to clear up the secret of this tragic death, and to say what national policy was interested in provoking such a catastrophe."



THE DEATH OF PAUL ANNOUNCED TO ALEXANDER

CHAPTER XIII.

ALEXANDER THE FIRST: FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1801 – 1825.

FIRST WAR WITH NAPOLEON: AUSTERLITZ, EYLAU, FRIEDLAND, AND TREATY OF TILSIT.—INTERVIEW AT ERFÜRT: WARS WITH ENGLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, TURKEY, AND PERSIA.—GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW: CAUSES OF THE SECOND WAR WITH NAPOLEON.—THE “PATRIOTIC WAR”: BATTLE OF BORODINO; BURNING OF MOSCOW; DESTRUCTION OF THE GRAND ARMY.—CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANY AND FRANCE: TREATIES OF VIENNA AND PARIS.—KINGDOM OF POLAND: CONGRESSES AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, CARLSBAD, LAYBACH, AND VERONA.

FIRST WAR WITH NAPOLEON: AUSTERLITZ, EYLAU, FRIEDLAND, AND TREATY OF TILSIT.

THE Emperor Alexander, who was now about twenty-five years old, was warmly welcomed to the throne. He was distinguished for his liberal ideas, but at the same time indecision of character was his prevailing weakness. Soon after his accession Count Pahlen, who tried to treat Alexander as an inferior, was disgraced, and his dismissal was soon followed by that of Zubof and Panin, the conspirators who had murdered Paul. Alexander then took three young men into his especial confidence,—Paul Strogonof, Novosiltsof, and Adam Tchartorniski, whom Paul had sent as minister to Sardinia, fearing his influence upon his son. These three were all filled with generosity, and perhaps even with illusions. Associated with them was Prince Kotchubey, an older man, who had seen more of the world, and was well

calculated to temper their impetuosity by his cooler reason. With the new reign, therefore, began a new foreign policy. Immediately after his accession Alexander addressed a letter of reconciliation to George the Third. He ordered the embargo on English vessels to be raised, and the sailors who had been captured to be set at liberty; he also entreated Admiral Parker to cease hostilities against Denmark. Those acts announced the dissolution of the League of Neutrality. On the seventeenth of July, eighteen hundred and one, a compromise was agreed upon by which England consented to define more strictly what articles should be understood to be contraband in war, admitted that a blockade must be effective before it could be considered binding, and gave up boarding foreign men-of-war.

The concessions made by Russia were of a much graver kind. They consisted in the abandonment of the principles of the armed neutrality, and the disavowal of the naval policy of Catherine the Second and Paul the First. Alexander allowed that the flag was not to cover merchandise; vessels of war were not to have the right to hinder the inspection, nor even the seizure of the merchant ships that they convoyed. England restored the islands taken from the Swedes and Danes. Denmark and Sweden, considering the common cause betrayed, confined themselves to making peace with Great Britain without touching the disputed points.

Alexander affected, nevertheless, a desire to remain on good terms with France, and instructed Count Markof to continue at Paris the negotiations begun by Kolutchef. Affairs had gone on so rapidly under Paul, that the two States had arranged an offensive alliance without ever having concluded a formal treaty of peace. The First Consul was greatly irritated at the abrupt change in the Russian policy. On the other hand, the instructions given by Alexander to Markof breathed defiance towards Bonaparte, who, "by flattering the deceased Emperor, had chiefly in view the use

of him as a weapon against England, and who doubtless only thought of gaining time."

Bonaparte, however, sent Duroc to represent him at Alexander's coronation. He received Count Markof courteously, assuring him of his esteem for Alexander, but he made him understand that the situation was no longer the same, and that Russia had not the right to exact so much from France. "My obligations towards the Emperor Paul, whose great and magnanimous ideas corresponded perfectly with the views of France, were such that I should not have hesitated to become the lieutenant of Paul the First." He complained that Russia insisted on such unimportant trifles as that of the "little kinglet" of Sardinia, and that it wished to treat France "like the republic of Lucca."

In his demands in favor of the King of Sardinia, Alexander felt that he had not the support of England, which, while negotiating for peace, had advised Cornwallis "not to embarrass himself with questions foreign to purely British interests." On the eighth of October, then, a treaty was signed between France and Russia, and on the eleventh of October there was a secret convention, of which the seven principal articles were as follow:—

The common mediation of the two powers for the Germanic indemnities stipulated by the Peace of Lunéville; an agreement about Italian affairs; the mediation of Russia for the establishment of a peace between France and Turkey; the independence of Naples, and the evacuation of its territory by the French, after the latter had evacuated Egypt; an indemnity to the King of Sardinia "according to present circumstances"; a suitable indemnity to the sovereigns of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden; independence and neutrality of the Ionian Isles.

The two parties also bound themselves to do all that lay in their power to strengthen the general peace, to re-establish the equilibrium of the different parts of the world, and to insure liberty of navigation.

The treaty of the eighth of October followed that of Lunéville between France and Austria, and led to that of Amiens with England. It secured the dictatorship of France and Russia in the regulation of continental affairs. Common mediation for the indemnities, and joint action in Italian affairs,—these were the principles that the late Tsar would have wished to see prevail; but circumstances were changed. Out of regard for Paul the First, Bonaparte might have renounced Piedmont, Naples, and Italy, but Paul the First fought for the liberty of the seas, threatened England in the Baltic and India, and assured the revenge of the French against Great Britain. The first act of Alexander had been, on the contrary, to desert his allies, and seek a reconciliation with England.

In the regulation of German affairs the will of France naturally preponderated. If Bonaparte increased the dominions of the houses of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Darmstadt, which were related to the imperial family of Russia, it was doubtless partly with a view to pleasing Alexander, but above all because he wished to recompense their fidelity to the French alliance. It was the influence of France, and not that of Russia, that was increased on the left bank of the Rhine. This was plainly to be seen in eighteen hundred and five, when all these princes hastened to conclude separate treaties with France, which already announced the Confederation of the Rhine. For the moment it was the self-esteem of Alexander that was specially wounded; he saw that everything was worked from Paris, that Bonaparte was all-powerful, and that his envoy, Markof, was sought by the German princes only after they had paid court to Talleyrand.

In Italy the question of the indemnity to the King of Sardinia dragged on slowly. On the eleventh of September, eighteen hundred and two, Bonaparte announced the union of Piedmont to France, but he always declined to fix the

equivalent which he promised to give. He at first suggested Parma and Piacenza, then had given them to an Infanta of Spain. He no longer offered anything beyond Siena, Orbitello, and a pension of five hundred thousand livres, saying, "As much money as you like, but nothing more"; and again, "This affair ought not to interest the Emperor Alexander more than the affairs of Persia interest me, the First Consul."

In Switzerland, in that Helvetia through which Suvorof had hoped to march as victor, it was Bonaparte who laid down the law, accepting the title of mediator, and occupying cantons troubled by intestine discords. It is true that in the Ionian Islands, ceaselessly agitated by small civil wars, it was a Russian plenipotentiary who arrived to appease the popular excitement, while the Emperor of Russia guaranteed the constitution.

The Peace of Amiens was on the eve of being broken, and, to hinder the rupture between France and England, Russia would have wished to offer its mediation. It feared above everything the French occupation of Naples and Hanover. The occupation of Naples meant the humiliation of another Italian client of Russia; the occupation of Hanover would bring the French very near to the Elbe and Hamburg. The fears of Alexander were realized. In a war against England, Bonaparte could not neglect such important points. Gouvion Saint Cyr occupied Tarento, Otranto, and Brindisi; Mortier invaded Hanover and got a loan from Hamburg; Holland and Tuscany were also garrisoned with French troops in June and July, eighteen hundred and three.

The choice of Markof as the Russian representative at Paris had not been happy. Like almost all the Russian aristocracy, he alike hated new France, the Revolution, and Bonaparte. He was the declared friend of the émigrés at the very moment when the royalist plots were putting the life of the First Consul in danger. His Austrian sympathies were notorious.

He proved to be proud, excessively obstinate, and even impertinent. When the consular court and all the diplomatic body went into mourning on the death of General Leclerc, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, he alone declined to wear it. He was compromised by the seizure of some pamphlets published against the government, his name being found at the head of the list of subscribers. He had the audacity to say, "The Emperor of Russia has his will, but the people also have theirs." The Russian government refused to recall him, in spite of Talleyrand's declaration that since the renewal of the war with England "the presence of so ill-disposed a man was more than unpleasant to the First Consul." Bonaparte complained also of some French émigrés whose intrigues were protected by Russia: of Christin, formerly secretary to Calonne, at Paris, of Vernègues at Rome, of D'Entraigues at Dresden. At last, after an angry scene in which Napoleon entirely forgot his dignity, Markof appeared no more at the Tuileries, and was finally recalled. The French were, however, no better contented with D'Oubril, who remained at Paris as chargé d'affaires.

The seizure and execution of the Duc d'Enghien in March, eighteen hundred and four, increased the misunderstanding between the two cabinets. The news of this murder reached Saint Petersburg on the eve of a diplomatic reception; when the reception itself took place, the Emperor and all his court were in mourning. Alexander passed General Hédouville, the French ambassador, without speaking to him. D'Oubril presented to the French government a note protesting against the violation of the law of nations and of neutral territory. Alexander, in his character as Guarantee of the German Empire, a title which had been conferred on the Russian Emperor at the Treaty of Teschen, caused a similar note to be laid before the Diet at Ratisbon, which Sweden and England hastened to ratify, but which terribly embarrassed the Diet and all the Germanic body. Bonaparte replied by recalling

Hédouville. He replied officially to D'Onbril's note by complaining of the unfriendly acts of the Russian government towards him, of the ill-will of all its agents, of the embarrassing situation which it sought to create for France by everywhere patronizing the émigrés; he contested the right of Russia to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and declared that in the affair of Ettenheim the government had acted only in self-defence. "The complaint made by Russia to-day compels us to ask if, when England meditated the assassination of Paul the First, men had been aware that the authors of the conspiracy were lurking within a league from the frontiers, they would not have hastened to capture them?" After such an interchange of letters, the *chargés d'affaires* themselves were recalled, and all diplomatic relations broken.

Napoleon had just been crowned Emperor; he had taken at Milan the crown of Italy, united Genoa to the French territory, and modified the constitution of Holland. From the camp at Boulogne he threatened England, but a coalition was already formed against him. Novosiltsof, one of Alexander's favorite ministers, in September, eighteen hundred and four, left for London with special instructions drawn up by the Emperor; we find in them all kinds of Utopian schemes, sometimes generous, often incoherent, which he still cherished at this epoch. He proposes to wrest from the French, who gave themselves out as the champions of liberty, this illusion, which was a dangerous weapon of propaganda; to give to the troubled world a good example by restoring the King of Sardinia; to render back to Switzerland and Holland the liberty to choose their own rulers; to declare to the French, who would gladly welcome the allies, that the war was directed, not against them, but against their government, from which they suffered as severely as the rest of Europe. In this note Alexander renewed the question of the reconstitution of Europe: taking count of natural frontiers, of crests of mountains, of groups of nationalities, he added a scheme for the par-

tition of the Ottoman Empire, in the case of its existence becoming incompatible with the present state of Europe. The British Cabinet received these communications somewhat coldly, but on the eleventh of April, eighteen hundred and five, concluded a treaty in which it was agreed to drive the French from Northern Germany, to declare Holland and Switzerland independent, and bring about a state of things which would secure universal peace. England, moreover, promised a yearly subsidy in the proportion of six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for every one hundred thousand men put under arms by Russia.

Sweden and Naples entered the coalition; Austria was already attacking Bavaria, the ally of Napoleon. Alexander wished to assure himself also of Frederic William the Third, who was always constantly vacillating between France and Russia, and who had undertaken engagements towards both. He went to Berlin so as to use his personal influence, and thought to gain Frederic by announcing that his army was about to cross Silesia and Pomerania; but the King of Prussia instantly mobilized his troops, to cause his neutrality to be respected. The violation of the territories of Anspach and Baïreuth by the French soon changed the course of his ideas. During his visit Alexander had his famous interview, near the tomb of Frederic the Great, with the King and Queen of Prussia. They went by torchlight into the vault where the coffin lay, and knelt before it. Alexander was moved to tears, and clasping his friend to his bosom promised never to desert him. By the Treaty of Potsdam Prussia undertook to furnish eighty thousand men to the coalition if Napoleon did not accept its ultimatum. The ultimatum stipulated for the independence of Germany and Italy, and the indemnity to the King of Sardinia. Baron Haugwitz was ordered to carry it to Napoleon.

During these negotiations the Russian army was put in motion. Behind the three great Austrian armies, led by the

Archduke Charles in Italy, the Archduke John in the Tyrol, and Mack with the Archduke Ferdinand against Bavaria, were ranged the Russian troops. Besides the twenty thousand men under Tolstoï, who were to join the Swedes and disembark at Stralsund, and the twenty thousand under Admiral Seniavin, who were to join the English and disembark at Naples, there were the troops who guarded the frontiers of Turkey and Prussia, and the great German army. The latter had as its vanguard Kutuzof, who, with forty-five thousand men, hastened to the Inn to unite with Mack. In Moravia, where the Emperor was in person, strong forces were gathering under the orders of Buxhœvden. Alexander had with him his three ministers, — Tchartoruisi, Novosiltsof, and Strogonof. All the Imperial Guard was there, — the Horse Guards, the Knights, the Preobrazhenski, the Semenovski, the Ismaïlovski, the Pavlovski, and the flower of the army.

Kutuzof had already reached Braunau on the Inn, where he learned the capitulation of Ulm, and the annihilation of Mack's army, on the nineteenth of October, eighteen hundred and five. He found his own position very critical, being at a great distance from the main body. He had under him excellent troops, and three admirable lieutenants: Prince Bagration, one of the heroes of the campaign of seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, the favorite pupil of old Suvorof; Dokturof, the intrepid leader of the grenadiers; Miloradovitch, surnamed the Murat of the Russian army, and of whom it was said, "Whoever wishes to follow Miloradovitch must have a spare life." To escape being cut off on the right bank of the Danube by Murat's cavalry, by Oudinot and by Lannes, and on the left bank by the corps of Mortier, Kutuzof retreated, giving battle to Oudinot at Lambach and at Amstetten in November, eighteen hundred and five. He then crossed the Danube at Krems, fought the battle of Dirnstein with Mortier, and marched to the north to join the great Russian army. The surprise of the bridge of Vienna by Lannes and Murat

endangered him on his left flank during his retreat into Moravia. To save his army, he had to sacrifice his rear-guard. The tenacious Bagration was charged to check the pursuit of the French. He intrenched himself at Hollabrunn and Schönggraben. Murat came up first, and desired to gain time in order to allow Lannes to join him; Bagration wished to give Kutuzof time to escape. He received Murat's envoy favorably, and sent to propose an armistice in the name of the Tsar. Ten hours passed while they awaited the answer of Napoleon. The latter, furious at Murat's credulity, sent orders that he was to attack immediately. Bagration's ten thousand men fought desperately during twelve hours. At night Bagration retreated, having lost two thousand men and all his guns. Kutuzof, who had been saved by his devotion, embraced him, and exclaimed, "You live, and that is enough for me."

The junction of Kutuzof, Buxhöveden, and the Austrians took place at Olmütz, and Napoleon was concentrating his forces at Brünn. He had collected about seventy thousand men, the Emperors of Russia and Austria about eighty thousand. The greatest exultation reigned in the Russian headquarters. The young Emperor and his young officers, proud of the splendid battles fought by Kutuzof and Bagration, spoke with profound contempt of the Austrians, who had allowed themselves to be so easily trapped at Ulm; they had only hatred and disdain for "Buonaparte the Corsican," who owed his victories to the imbecility of his adversaries. A small success of the vanguard at Wischan, the apparent timidity of Napoleon, and the arrival of General Savary as envoy, completely turned their heads. Alexander sent the young Prince Dolgoruki to the French headquarters, with a note addressed to the "head of the French nation." It was necessary, said the Prince to Napoleon, that the French should abandon Italy, if they wanted immediate peace. If they were vanquished, they would have to lose not only the Rhine, but Piedmont, Savoy, and Belgium, which would be formed into



THE RAMPARTS OF ULM

barriers against them. "What! Brussels also?" exclaimed Napoleon, and coldly dismissed him. "These people are mad," he said. "What would they do with France if I were defeated!"

"It is difficult," relates a Russian eyewitness, Zhirkievitch, the lieutenant of artillery, "to picture the enthusiasm that animated us all, and the strange and ridiculous infatuation that accompanied this noble sentiment. It seemed to us that we were going straight to Paris. No one spoke of anything but Dolgoruki, a young man of twenty-five, who presented himself to Napoleon with a letter from the Emperor, and all admired the cleverness of the superscription, in which the imperial title of Napoleon had been so skilfully avoided. It was even added that when Dolgoruki gave the letter to Napoleon, as the latter remained covered, Dolgoruki replaced his hat. A few days passed, and our ideas became greatly changed." One scheme, conceived by Weirotter the Austrian, and approved by Alexander, was that Bagration on the right should keep Lannes in check; the two Imperial guards would be sufficient to watch the plateau of Pratzen; Dokturof, Langeron, Przhébishevski, even Kutuzof and Miloradovitch, were to descend into the valley of Goldbach to meet Napoleon, cut him off from the Danube, and force him back on the mountains of Bohemia.

The evening before the battle it was still believed that Napoleon would retreat. Dolgoruki recommended his soldiers "to watch well which way the French retired." On the morning of the second of December, eighteen hundred and five, the valley of Goldbach was covered by a fog, from the waves of which emerged, as from the bosom of a milky sea, the mountain heights which were gilded by the early rays of the sun; on the west lay the peaks of Schlapanitz, where Napoleon had taken up his position; on the east, the hills of Pratzen, where the allied emperors were encamped. Napoleon distinctly saw the Russian columns descend the plateau

of Pratzen, and disappear in the fog ; and from the side of Lakes Sokolnitz, Satchan, and Menitz — that is to say, to his right — he heard the noise of their artillery carriages. He was therefore certain that, as he had foreseen, the allies intended to attack this wing. When the plateau of Pratzen, the centre of the Russian army, seemed to him sufficiently bare, he gave the signal. In twenty minutes the corps of Soult scaled the slopes in heavy masses, and attacked Kutuzof and Miloradovitch, whose divisions alone remained on the plateau. There a desperate battle was fought. The Emperor of Russia found himself under fire, his men were dispersed, and he himself was obliged to retire at a gallop, attended only by his doctor, a single orderly, and two Cossacks. A little to the right of the plateau the Grand Duke Konstantin, the Emperor's brother, with the guards, tried to oppose the cavalry of Murat and the French guards. It was an epic struggle, where fought on one side the famous Russian regiments of the foot guards, the horse guards, the flower of the Russian nobility, the uhlans, the chasseurs of the guard, the Cossacks, and the cuirassiers of Lichtenstein ; on the other, the Mamelukes of Rapp, the mounted grenadiers of Bessières, the light cavalry of Kellermann, the cuirassiers of Hautpoul and of Nansouty. At the extreme right of the Russians, Bagration could easily beat a retreat before Lannes ; but on their left, the column of Dokturof, Langeron, and Przhébishevski, entangled in the network of lakes, engaged since morning by the corps of Davoust, and suddenly attacked in their rear by the victorious troops returning from the plateau of Pratzen, found themselves in a frightful situation : Buxhœvden was hard pressed near a frozen lake which some of the infantry tried to cross. The French broke the ice with their artillery and many Russians perished. The French at first reported the number drowned to be twenty thousand, but afterwards it was reduced to two thousand. Dokturof protected the retreat. Tchartoruiski wrote the Tsar, “ The feeling through-

out the whole army at this moment was not of the need of avenging the insult it had received, but rather a desire to go away as soon as possible and consider the war at an end."

Such was "the battle of the three emperors." The Russians fell back on Austerlitz. Without reckoning the Austrian loss, their own amounted to twenty-one thousand men, two hundred cannons, and thirty flags. They were furious against their allies. As happened after the battle of Zürich, they accused them of incapacity, and even of treason. It was the Austrians who had sketched the plan of the battle; and, fighting in their own country, on ground which they had studied at leisure in their manœuvres on parade, they had not succeeded in either arranging their troops to advantage or in providing forage and ammunition. Dolgoruki, in a report to the Emperor, remarks: "They conducted your majesty's army rather in a way to deliver it to the enemy than to fight; and what puts the finishing touch to this infamy is, that the disposition of our forces was known to the enemy, a fact of which we have certain proof." Rostoptchin, in a letter to Prince Tsitsianof, echoes him: "The plan had been treacherously communicated to Bonaparte; forty-eight hours before we were ready, the latter began the attack at break of day. From the beginning, half of the Austrians took up arms; the other half crossed over to the enemy, and some even fired on us."

On the fourth of December the Emperor Francis of Austria had an interview with Napoleon, and obtained for the Russian army, which was greatly imperilled after its disaster, and was closely pressed by Davoust, leave to retire, on condition that it should evacuate Hungary and Moravia within a fortnight, and Galicia within a month. On the twenty-sixth the Treaty of Presburg was signed, which deprived Francis the Second of Venice, the Tyrol, and Austrian Suabia; he was likewise to give up the title of Emperor. This new intervention of the Russians in Europe ended in a formidable growth of French power. On the fifteenth of March, eighteen hundred

and six, Napoleon appointed his brother-in-law, General Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg. On the thirty-first the King of Naples was dethroned and replaced by Joseph Bonaparte; the kingdom of Italy was increased by Venice; the sovereigns of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, strengthened by the spoils of Austria, decorated with the titles of king and grand duke, declaring themselves independent of the German Empire, formed, with the new Prince-Primate Charles of Dalberg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, and fifteen other sovereign princes, the Confederation of the Rhine, the Rheinbund. There was no longer reason for Russian interference in Germany. Already Napoleon's family was contracting matrimonial alliances with those of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. The German vassals of the successor of Charles the Great, of the new Emperor of the West, could add to his army from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand men. Haugwitz, who had been ordered to inform Napoleon of the ultimatum stipulated by the Treaty of Potsdam, found himself at Schönbrunn in the presence of a defiant and invincible conqueror; he was forced to sign a treaty which obliged Prussia to accept Hanover, in exchange for Anspach and Baireuth, and irrevocably brought on a war with England. The coalition was therefore beaten in the field and dissolved in the cabinet. Russia, isolated by the ruin of Naples, the desertion of Austria, and the defection of Prussia, found itself almost alone on the Continent.

It is well known how from this same Treaty of Schönbrunn, which appeared to attach Prussia to Napoleon, sprang a new war. The coalition was renewed between Russia, England, Sweden, and Prussia. The Prussians showed in eighteen hundred and six the same precipitation as the Austrians in eighteen hundred and five; like them, they did not allow time for the Russians to join them; and when Alexander found himself able to undertake a second campaign, he learned the twofold catastrophe of Jena and Auerstädt, on the fourteenth of Octo-

ber, as he had formerly learned that of Ulm. For the second time his principal ally was beaten, and the whole weight of the war fell upon Russia. On this occasion the disaster was even greater, for the Prussian monarchy ceased to exist. The French occupied Berlin, and took the fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula. Nothing remained to Frederic William in the North but three fortresses, Dantzic, Königsberg, and Memel, and a small body of fourteen thousand men under Les-tocq.

These events had followed one another with a rapidity so startling that Alexander found himself taken unawares. After Austerlitz he had tried to negotiate with Napoleon, and sent D'Oubril to Paris; but D'Oubril, who had consented to the evacuation of Cattaro and the Ionian Isles, and the recognition of the principle of Ottoman integrity, had been disavowed at Saint Petersburg, like Haugwitz at Berlin. Russia found itself in a terrible plight; and it had in addition the prospect of a double war against Persia and Turkey. Tchartoruiski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a memorial to the Emperor, counselling peace. He showed that Russia had two vulnerable points, — Poland, and the serfage of the peasants. Invasion must be avoided at all costs, for the invader would not fail to proclaim the re-establishment of Poland, and the freedom of the serfs. It was of little consequence that Germany was subject to Napoleon, if the latter would consent not to pass the Weser or even the Elbe. It was necessary to consent to the evacuation of Cattaro and the Ionian Isles, to guarantee only Sicily to the King of Naples, and to obtain some sort of an indemnity to the King of Sardinia. It would be better to secure the co-operation of Napoleon for regulating the affairs of Turkey. Only one thing was important, the safety of the empire.

But Alexander, secure of Prussia, which was at this moment still intact, inclined to war. He commanded a new conscription of one man in every hundred, lowered the regulation

height one inch, ordered muskets even from private manufacturers and foreigners, created new régiments, summoned students and young nobles, promising them the grade of officer after six months' service, for the fight at Pratzen had made terrible havoc with the guards. A plan of organizing militia was talked of, which would have given them six hundred and twelve thousand men. The priests were ordered to proclaim everywhere that war was made, "not for vainglory, but for the salvation of the country." England was asked for a loan of six million sterling. An appeal was once more made to Austria. When Prussia was crushed, the fourteen thousand Prussians of Lestocq were sent for.

Buxhœvden had twenty-eight thousand men; another army of sixty thousand men was confided to Bennigsen, a learned man of boundless energy, who had been one of the conspirators of eighteen hundred and one, and had a considerable genius for tactics. He has, however, been reproached with indecision at the critical moment, with neglecting discipline, and not being able to repress pillage; the marauders did not respect even his headquarters or his own house. These defects were, however, partially atoned for by a tenacity which astonished Napoleon. The old field-marshal Kamenski, nominated generalissimo, had concentrated all his forces on the Vistula. When his infirmities obliged him to resign his command, Bennigsen succeeded him.

Murat, Davoust, and Lannes had entered Warsaw, which was then a Prussian possession, and had established themselves on the Bug, forming the right of the Grand Army. Soult and Angereau crossed the Vistula at Modlin, and formed the centre; on the left Ney and Bernadotte occupied Thorn and Elbing. In the rear Mortier acted in Pomerania against the Swedes; Lefèbvre besieged Dantzic; and Jerome Bonaparte, with Vandamme, finished the conquest of Silesia. Pressed by the Grand Army, Bennigsen was obliged to evacuate Poland, after some severe fighting, especially at Pultusk

on December twenty-six, and retired by way of Ostrolenka, leaving in the mud of Poland eighty field-pieces and nearly ten thousand men; he stopped on the Alle to cover Königsberg.

Winter was at hand: the Grand Army was reposing in camp, when Bennigsen conceived the audacious project of moving his left wing, passing between the two forces of Bernadotte and Ney, crushing Bernadotte, and forcing Ney into the sea; of relieving Dantzic and carrying the war into Brandenburg on the rear of Napoleon. Bernadotte, however, resisted so stubbornly at Mohrungen and Osterode, that Napoleon had time to come up, and Bennigsen himself was on the point of having his left wing turned, and seeing his lines of communication cut. An intercepted despatch warned him of the risk he ran; it was necessary to sound a retreat, and Bagration was again called on to protect it. As at Schöngraben, he covered himself with glory, and allowed himself to be sacrificed for the salvation of the army; his "incomparable regiment of Kostroma" was almost annihilated, and he himself severely wounded. During this time Bennigsen marched to Eylau and took up a position to the east of the town, on a line of heights which extended from Schloditten to Serpallen; behind his centre lay the village of Sausgarten; his front was covered by two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

When Napoleon arrived at Eylau, which was taken on the seventh of February, he had with him only Soult, Augereau, Murat, and the guard; Davoust, who was to form his right wing, and Ney, who was to form his left wing, and who had been delayed by his pursuit of Lestocq, were still wanting. Bennigsen, on his side, awaited Lestocq, who was to compose his right wing. The battle, however, began on February eighth, eighteen hundred and seven, and was one of the bloodiest of the century. A thick snow was falling, which ever and anon hid the battle-field from sight; the sky was of a livid gray; the landscape was as gloomy as the result of the

action. The battle began by a formidable cannonade, which lasted all day. The French, sheltered by the buildings of the town of Eylau, and disposed in thin lines, suffered from it less than the Russians, who had little cover, and were ranged in compact masses. The corps of Augereau and the division of Saint Hilaire, intrusted with the attack on the Russian left wing, went astray, blinded by a squall of snow; when the sky cleared, the two divisions of Augereau found themselves opposite the Russian centre, forty paces from a battery of seventy-two guns; mown down at the cannon's mouth, they lost in a few minutes five thousand two hundred men. Augereau and his two generals of division were wounded. At the same moment an enormous mass of cavalry, uhlands, and cuirassiers dashed themselves against Saint Hilaire's infantry, upsetting everything in their passage. The infantry of the Russian centre advanced almost to the cemetery of Eylau, where Napoleon was standing. Then Murat, in his turn, assembled eighty squadrons, and led against this infantry the most frightful charge mentioned in the annals of these wars; solid squares were broken by his cuirassiers. The two armies continued to watch and to fire at each other, but the battle made little progress till Davoust at last joined the right wing of the French army, turned the Russian left and threw it back upon the centre, and reached Sansgarten on their rear. The Prussians of Lestocq arrived in their turn at the other extremity of the line, but they were followed by Ney, who in the darkness of night, at half past nine o'clock, began to break Bennigsen's right wing. The Russians now ran the risk of being surrounded. They had suffered cruel losses: one of their divisions, that of Count Ostermann Tolstoï, counted no more than twenty-five hundred men. "The general in chief," says M. Bogdanovitch, "trembled as he read the reports of the generals of divisions." They had not thirty thousand men under arms; twenty-six thousand were killed or wounded; among the latter were Barclay de Tolly, Dokturof, and seven other

generals. He profited by the darkness to beat a retreat, and did not hesitate to claim as a victory what in reality had only been a glorious resistance. Bennigsen boldly ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung.

The French had more right to call themselves victorious, as they remained masters of the field of battle. Unlike the Russians, some of their troops were still intact, such as Ney's corps and the Foot Guards, but they had likewise suffered terribly, and a gloomy sadness hung over the survivors. Such efforts, so much blood shed, so few trophies! This melancholy impression is reflected even in Napoleon's despatch, where he allows himself to describe the funereal aspect of the battle-field, the thousands of heaped-up corpses, the gunners killed on their pieces, "all thrown into relief by a background of snow." Ney shrugged his shoulders on seeing the carnage. "What a massacre," he said, "and without result!" They suffered hunger and cold; the immense spaces, the broken roads, the marshy plains, the stoical resistance of the Russians, had disconcerted the calculations of Napoleon. Eylau gave him a foretaste of eighteen hundred and twelve; the delay of Ney a foretaste of Waterloo. Fortune took care to warn him that she would not always be punctual to her rendezvous. The effect produced on Europe was unlucky for France; in Paris the Funds fell.

In order to confirm his victory, reorganize his army, reassure France, re-establish the opinion of Europe, encourage the Polish insurrection, and to curb the ill-will of Germany and Austria, Napoleon remained a week at Eylau. He negotiated: on one side he caused Talleyrand to write to Zastrow, the Prussian foreign minister, to propose peace and his alliance; he sent Bertrand to Memel to offer to re-establish the King of Prussia, on the condition of no foreign intervention. He also tried to negotiate with Bennigsen; to which the latter made answer "that his master had charged him to fight, and not negotiate." After some hesitation, Prussia ended by join-

ing its fortunes to those of Russia. By the convention of Bartenstein, of the twenty-fifth of April, eighteen hundred and seven, the two sovereigns came to terms on the following points : —

The re-establishment of Prussia within the limits of eighteen hundred and five ; the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine ; the restitution to Austria of the Tyrol and Venice ; the accession of England to the coalition, and the aggrandizement of Hanover ; the co-operation of Sweden ; the restoration of the house of Orange, and indemnities to the kings of Naples and Sardinia. This document is important ; its conditions are almost the same as those offered to Napoleon at the Congress of Prague, in eighteen hundred and thirteen.

Russia and Prussia proposed then to make a more pressing appeal to Austria, Sweden, and England ; but the Emperor Francis was naturally undecided, and the Archduke Charles, alleging the state of the finances and the army, strongly advised him against any new intervention. Sweden was too weak ; and notwithstanding his fury against Napoleon, Gustavus the Third had just been forced to treat with Mortier. The English ministry, consisting of the Duke of Portland with Canning and Castlereagh, showed a remarkable inability to conceive the situation ; they refused to guarantee the new Russian loan of a hundred and fifty millions, and would lend themselves to no maritime diversion.

Napoleon showed the greatest diplomatic activity. The Sultan Selim the Third declared war against Russia ; General Sebastiani, the envoy at Constantinople, put the Bosphorus in a state of defence, and repulsed the English fleet ; General Gardane left for Ispahan, with a mission to cause a Persian outbreak in the Caucasus. Dantzic had capitulated, and Lefebvre's forty thousand men were therefore ready for service. Masséna took thirty-six thousand from Italy.

In the spring Bennigsen, who had been reinforced by ten

thousand regular troops, six thousand Cossacks, and the Imperial Guard, being now at the head of one hundred and ten thousand men, took the offensive; Gortchakof commanding the right and Bagration the left. He tried, as in the preceding year, to seize Ney's division; but the latter fought, as he retired, two bloody fights, at Gutstadt and Ankendorff. Bennigsen, again in danger of being surrounded, retired on Heilsberg, where, on the tenth of June, he defended himself bravely; but the French, extending their line on his right, marched on Eylau, so as to cut him off from Königsberg. The Russian generalissimo retreated; but, being pressed, he had to draw up at Friedland, on the Alle.

The position he had taken up was most dangerous. All his army was enclosed in an angle of the Alle, with the steep bed of the river at their backs, which in case of misfortune left them only one means of retreat, over the three bridges of Friedland. The French vanguard arrived at two in the morning of June fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seven, filled the woods of Posthenen with sharpshooters, and held the Russians in check till the Emperor's arrival. The Russian army was almost entirely hidden in the ravine of the Alle. "Where are the Russians concealed?" asked Napoleon when he came up. When he had noted their situation, he exclaimed: "No, it is not every day that an enemy is surprised in such a blunder." He placed Lannes and Victor in reserve, ordered Mortier to hold Gortchakof in check on the left and to remain still, as "the movement to be made by the right wing would turn upon the left." As to Ney, he was to cope with Bagration on the right, he was to drive like a wedge among the Russians who were shut in by the angle of the river; he was to meet them in hand-to-hand conflict, without taking any thought of his own safety. Ney led this charge with irresistible fury; the Russians were riddled by his artillery at one hundred and fifty paces. He successively crushed the chasseurs of the Russian guard, the Ismaïlovski regiment, and the horse guards; he

burnt Friedland with his shells, and cannonaded the bridges, which was their only way of retreat. In a quarter of an hour the Ismaïlovski lost four hundred men out of five hundred and twenty. Bagration, surrounded by the grenadiers of Moscow, was obliged to cut his way through; his lieutenants, Raievski, Iermolof, and Baggovut, wasted their strength in vain efforts. The Russian left wing was almost thrown into the river. Bagration, with the Semenovski and other troops, was hardly able to cover the defeat on the Russian right; Gortchakof, who had advanced to attack the immovable Mortier, had time only to reach the Alle, which he had to ford; Count Lambert retired with twenty-nine guns along the left bank; the rest fled by the right bank, closely pursued by the cavalry. Meanwhile Murat, Davoust, and Soult, who had taken no part in the battle, arrived before Königsberg. Lestocq, with twenty-five thousand men, tried to defend it, but on learning the disaster of Friedland he hastily evacuated it. Only one fortress now remained to Frederic William, — the little town of Memel. The Russians lost at Friedland from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand men, besides eighty guns.

Alexander, who was established at Jurburg, received a report from Bennigsen merely announcing that he had been obliged to evacuate the banks of the Alle, and that he would wait in a more advantageous position till Lobanof-Rostovski brought him reinforcements. But Lobanof had only a few thousand Kalmuiki, and it was to these badly armed savages that they looked for the salvation of Russia. More explicit accounts reached Alexander from the Tsarévitch Konstantin and other officers. The situation was desperate: Alexander had no longer an army. Only one man, Barclay de Tolly, proposed to continue the war; but in order to do this it would be necessary to re-enter Russia, to penetrate into the very heart of the empire, to burn everything on the way, and present only a desert to the enemy. Alexander hoped to get off more cheaply. He wrote a severe letter to Bennigsen, and

gave him powers to treat. Prince Lobanof left for the headquarters of Napoleon, who sent in his turn the Captain de Talleyrand-Périgord. Alexander had at that time a common sentiment with Napoleon, — hatred of the English. He did not pardon them either for their refusal to guarantee a Russian loan, or for the calculated insufficiency of their diversions, or for their mercantile selfishness.

On June twenty-fifth the interview on the raft at Tilsit took place. Alexander and Napoleon conversed for nearly two hours. The King of Prussia was not admitted to a conference on which the fate of his dynasty depended. On horseback on the shore, urging his horse even into the water, he waited the result with his eyes fixed on the fateful raft. Even the personal graces of the Queen of Prussia could not soften the severity of the treaty. It was from “respect for the Emperor of all the Russias and desire to unite the two nations in a bond of eternal friendship,” that Napoleon “consented” to restore to Frederic William the Third, Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia.

These articles of the treaty of July eighth, eighteen hundred and seven, completed the fall of Prussia. On the west Napoleon took from it all the possessions between the Rhine and the Elbe, with Magdeburg; he destroyed the thrones of the allied States of Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel. On the east he confiscated all Poland. He thus broke the two wings of the Prussian Eagle. On its right he established the kingdom of Westphalia, on its left the grand duchy of Warsaw. Dantzic was declared a free town. The district Bielostok, with one hundred and eighty-four thousand inhabitants, a part of the dismembered Black Russia, again became Russian soil. The estates of the Princes of Mecklenburg and Oldenburg were restored to them; but they had to suffer the occupation of their territory for the carrying out of the Continental blockade, and like Saxony, the States of Thuringia and all the small princes of Germany, they were obliged to accede to the

Confederation of the Rhine. The King of Prussia adhered to the Continental blockade. His possessions were not to be given back to him till after full payment of a war indemnity.

Besides the conditions relative to Prussia, the Treaty of Tilsit established : Russian mediation between France and England ; French mediation between England and Turkey ; the recognition by Alexander, and likewise by Frederic William the Third, of Napoleon's brother Joseph as king of Naples, Louis as king of Holland, Jerome of Westphalia, as well as the recognition of the Confederation of the Rhine, and of all States founded by Napoleon ; and lastly, reciprocal guarantees for the integrity of the present possessions of Russia and France.

A second treaty, with secret articles, stipulated that Cattaro should be restored to France ; that France should have the Ionian Isles in perpetuity ; that if Ferdinand were deprived of Sicily, he should have no other equivalent than the Balearic Isles, or Cyprus and Candia ; that in this case Joseph should be acknowledged King of the Two Sicilies ; that an amnesty should be accorded to the Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, and other peoples who had revolted at the call of Russia ; that if Hanover were united to the kingdom of Westphalia, Prussia should receive in exchange a territory on the left bank of the Elbe, with three hundred thousand or four hundred thousand inhabitants.

A third treaty, offensive and defensive, provided that an ultimatum should be addressed to England on the first of November, and that if it had no results war should be declared by Russia on the first of December ; that unless Turkey should make peace with the Tsar within three months, then " the two high contracting powers should come to an understanding to withdraw all the Ottoman provinces in Europe, with the exception of Constantinople and Rumelia, from the yoke and tyranny of the Turks " ; that Sweden



MEETING OF NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER IN THE MIDDLE OF THE RIVER NIEMEN

should be summoned to break with England, and if it refused Denmark was to be invited to take part in the war against it, and Finland was to be annexed to Russia; that Austria should be invited to accede to the system of continental blockade at the same time with Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal.

In certain respects this peace deserved the name of "the treacherous peace," which the English agent, Wilson, applied to it in his disappointment. Turkey was abandoned, delivered over by its old friend France, though it is true that Napoleon alleged in excuse the revolution which had just overthrown his friend the Sultan Selim. He acted the same way in regard to Sweden, another old ally. He made all these sacrifices so as to have the right of executing his Machiavelian designs against Spain, whose troops were fighting loyally under his banners. Alexander in no small degree sacrificed his honor and interest to these new combinations. He abruptly consented to go to war with his former ally, England; he renounced the principle of the integrity of Prussia, and even accepted as his share in its spoliation the province of Bielostok; he did not hesitate to wrest Finland from his brother-in-law, his ally Gustavus the Fourth. He consented to see under the euphemism of the grand duchy of Warsaw a nucleus of Poland formed on his frontier. This strange treaty might, however, have satisfied the two States, had it been faithfully executed. The part played by Russia was more brilliant, on the whole, than Napoleon's; while France was about to become exhausted in a fruitless war with Spain, splendid vistas for Alexander's ambition were opening in the East and on the Danube. Thanks to the French alliance, he could follow in this direction the glorious steps of Sviatoslaf, of Peter the Great, and of his grandmother Catherine. For several days, at least, Alexander seemed enthusiastic about his ally. They interchanged the ribbons of their orders; each decorated one of the bravest soldiers of the other

army; the grenadier Lazaref received the cross of the Legion of Honor; a battalion of the Imperial guard offered a fraternal banquet to the Preobrazhenski.

INTERVIEW AT ERFÜRT: WARS WITH ENGLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, TURKEY, AND PERSIA.

The change in the foreign policy was to bring with it a change in the composition of the government. Alexander's early companions, who had entered upon the task of government with no experience, but with lofty aims and with keen expectations of success, had been disappointed. Corruption still was rampant, disorders increased, the chances for culture, which were at the disposal of the upper classes, were neglected; the provincial nobility failed to throng the halls of the new universities. This failure in his hopes led Alexander to distrust his counsellors; such wide-spread disaffection, perhaps, sprung from the personality of his ministers. Most thoroughly was he estranged from Novosiltsof, who had been his most intimate friend. Devoted to England as he was, the announcement that Alexander had accepted the cross of the Legion of Honor caused him at Tilsit to demand his dismissal. Napoleon could have no confidence in Alexander's promises so long as his enemy, Novosiltsof, was at the head of foreign affairs. But Alexander did not "chase him out," but simply neglected him until Novosiltsof made some cutting remarks about the rupture with England and the Russian subservice to France. Then he was ordered to travel abroad, and when he returned, several years after, he was merely appointed senator. Count Kotchubey also was allowed, in November, eighteen hundred and seven, to go abroad to recuperate his failing health, and Stroganof was removed from the immediate presence of the Emperor, with the title of major-general in the army. He had distinguished himself for his bravery in the field of battle, and was made a Knight of the Order of Saint George. Prince Adam Tchartoruiski was now living in War-

saw, charged with the direction of the University of Vilna and the Lithuanian Department of Instruction. Although he was playing a double game, Alexander failed to discover it, and saw in him only the man by whose means, sooner or later, he should become king of Poland. Tchartoruiski took pains to further the illusion, and showed himself almost unscrupulous in the way that he deceived the Emperor with an appearance of straightforwardness. Baron Budberg, who had taken Tchartoruiski's place as minister of foreign affairs, and was well known as an enemy of Napoleon, was also dismissed. The minister of finance, Vasilief, died about this time; so that of the former ministers only three were left. The chief in importance was Rumiantsof, who was made Chancellor, but had in reality only a small influence on the Emperor. Golubzof was appointed minister of finance, and Kurakin, who was distinguished for the Oriental number of his children, took Kotchubey's place in the department of the Interior. At the same time appeared two men who were destined to exert a great influence upon Russian affairs, Araktehéf and Speranski. Araktehéf was supposed to be a skilful artilleryist, and in May, eighteen hundred and three, the Emperor appointed him inspector-general of that service. He managed to use the knowledge of a French émigré, named de Barbiche, who was thoroughly grounded in the use of guns, and by a scrupulous observance of details so deceived Alexander, that in eighteen hundred and five he appointed him to a command in the field, which he hastened to decline. Afterwards the Emperor made him war minister, and he set to work to get rid of all those who stood in his way. As long, however, as the Emperor remained firm in his liberal views, Araktehéf was kept in the background. He was especially overshadowed by Mikhail Speranski.

Mikhail Mikhailof was the son of a poor priest who, like other peasants, had no distinctive family name. He was destined for the priesthood, and was sent to the seminary at Vla-

dimir, where he was put under the special protection of a relative, who, conceiving great hopes of him, allowed him to take the name of Speranski. He soon won distinction, and was advanced to the higher seminary in Saint Petersburg. The Metropolitan of Moscow selected him as a candidate for the highest office of the church, but Speranski found that the priesthood was not his calling, so he became instructor of mathematics, and later of philosophy, in the seminary of the Petersburg Monastery. He reached the highest point of honor in this profession when he was made Prefect of the Seminary, at the age of thirty-two. During the latter years of Catherine's reign Prince Kurakin, finding himself in need of a private secretary, took Speranski into his pay at the recommendation of the Metropolitan, and afterwards, when the prince was summoned by Paul to the senate, Speranski entered the service of the State. In three months he was raised to the eighth degree of the *Tchin*, which gives hereditary nobility, and in spite of the successive changes which ensued in Paul's administration, he kept his position, and shortly before the Emperor was assassinated was presented with a large domain in the government of Saratof, and became a Knight of the Order of Malta. Under Alexander he was made Secretary of State, and having won Kotchubey's favor, he was brought especially to the Emperor's notice. He took Novosiltsof's place after the Peace of Tilsit, and became even more necessary to Alexander than the former had been. He had the gift of expressing the Emperor's ideas in pleasing language, and of accomplishing rapidly and successfully whatever there was to be done. But Speranski's position was by no means enviable. His rapid rise had brought him many enemies, who looked upon him as an interloper. Araktchéf was watching with envious eyes for an opportunity to destroy him. Unpopular as the war had been, the peace was still more so, and Speranski did not conceal his admiration for the genius of the French Emperor, for the principles born of the

Revolution, and embodied in the Civil Code. He seriously desired the maintenance of the French alliance; and M. Pogodin, one of the Slavophiles of our time, has not the courage to condemn this policy. "It proves, on the contrary," he says, "his perspicacity as a statesman. The conditions imposed by Napoleon the First would certainly have been more easy to bear than those imposed by Napoleon the Third at Sevastopol. The future of Europe would have been different. Sevastopol would still have shone on the shores of the Black Sea, and the Continent would not lately have been inundated with blood by two cruel wars." "The Eastern question," says another Slavophil, M. Oreste Müller, "would in this case have probably been settled, and English preponderance would have been extinguished in the Levant."

We must recognize the fact that in eighteen hundred and seven Russian aristocracy was not yet reconciled to the state of things to which the Revolution had given rise. The Empress-mother surrounded herself with French émigrés; her court was the centre of the English and Austrian party. It was not only the sudden abandonment of the ancient alliances which was blamed, but it was also the partial restoration of the hereditary enemy, Poland; and yet the question of the grand duchy of Warsaw seemed secondary, — it was considered as a consequence of the subjection to Napoleon. The dismissal of Louis the Eighteenth, who was obliged to leave Mitava for England, and the plot at Bayonne against the Bourbons of Spain still further inflamed the passions of men.

Savary, Napoleon's ambassador, had to endure the brunt of these bitter feelings. The choice of him was by no means a fortunate one, as Savary was supposed to have been more or less concerned in the affair of the Duc d'Enghien. "Feeling against the French ran so high," says Savary, "that no hotel would take me as a lodger. The general reception of myself and my companion was in inverse proportion to the kindness of the Emperor Alexander. During the first six weeks of my

stay here I could not get a single door opened to me. The Emperor of Russia saw all this, and wished it had been otherwise. At the moment of my arrival at Saint Petersburg prayers were publicly offered in the churches against us, and particularly against the Emperor Napoleon." The bookstores were full of pamphlets against France, against Napoleon, and against the French ambassador. "Nothing," continues Savary, "was equal to the irreverence with which the Russian youth dared to express itself about its sovereign. For some time I was much disturbed at the consequences this license might have in a country where revolutions in the palace were only too common." Napoleon's envoy thought it even his duty to place in Alexander's hands a correspondence lately seized, in which the writer sent letters of this kind from Prussia to his friends in the interior: "Have you no longer any Pahlens, any Zubofs, any Bennigsens?"

Stedingk, the Swedish ambassador, also wrote to Gustavus the Fourth: "The discontent against the Emperor Alexander increases daily, and things are said at this moment which are frightful to hear. The partisans of the Emperor are in despair, but there is no one among them who dares to remedy the evil, or to reveal to him the full danger of the situation. A change of government is spoken of, not only in private conversations, but in public meetings." Some echo of the public discontent reached Alexander's ears, however. Admiral Mordvinof wrote to him: "Though the days of glory may be passed, those in which Russia laid down the law; though it may have lost the bright hopes which it cherished in our youth, the sons of Russia are ready to shed the last drop of their blood rather than bow ignominiously before the sword of him whose only advantage over them is that he has known how to use weakness, treachery, and incapacity." The historian Karamsin was already preparing for the Emperor his work on "Ancient and Modern Russia."

In general, the literature of this epoch has a very pro-

nounced anti-French character. The national tragedies of Kriukovski and Ozérof; the patriotic odes of Zhukovski; even the comedies and fables of "diédushka" Kruihof, the "little grandfather," as he was affectionately called; the productions of the press, represented by Glinka, Gretch, Batiushkof, and Shishkof, — all breathe hatred against Napoleon and aversion for that new France which the Russians, accustomed as they were to admire and imitate the old France of Versailles, looked upon with the eyes of the *émigrés* themselves. The most impetuous of the Gallophobes of this epoch was Count Rostoptchin. About eighteen hundred and seven he published his new satire, "O, the French!" and a comedy entitled "The News," or "The Living-Dead," in which he sharply attacked the alarmists and the extravagant partisans of Western customs. In his "Spoken Thoughts on the Red Staircase," in eighteen hundred and seven, he exclaims: "How long shall we go on imitating monkeys? As soon as a Frenchman arrives who has escaped the gallows, we fly to welcome him. And he sets the fashions, he represents himself as a prince or a gentleman who has lost his fortune for faith or loyalty, when in reality he is only a lackey or a shopkeeper, or a tax collector, or a suspended priest who has fled his country in fear. What are children taught to-day? To pronounce French properly, to turn their toes out, and to frizz their hair. He alone is a wit whom a Frenchman will take for his countryman. But how can men love their country when they do not even know their native language? Is it not a shame? In every country French is taught to children, but only that they may understand it, and not in order that it may take the place of their mother tongue." He continues with violent invectives against French ambition, and invokes the brave soldiers of Eylau: "Glory to thee, victorious Russian army, bearing the sword in the name of Christ! Glory to our Emperor, and to our mother Russia! Hail to you, Russian heroes, Tolstoï, Kozhin, Galitsuin, Dokturof, Volkonski, Dolgoruki! Eternal

peace to you in heaven, young and gallant Galitsuin ! Triumph, Russian Empire ! the enemy of the human race recoils before thee ; he cannot struggle against thy invincible strength. He came as a savage lion, thinking to devour everything ; he flies like a hungry wolf, grinding his teeth."

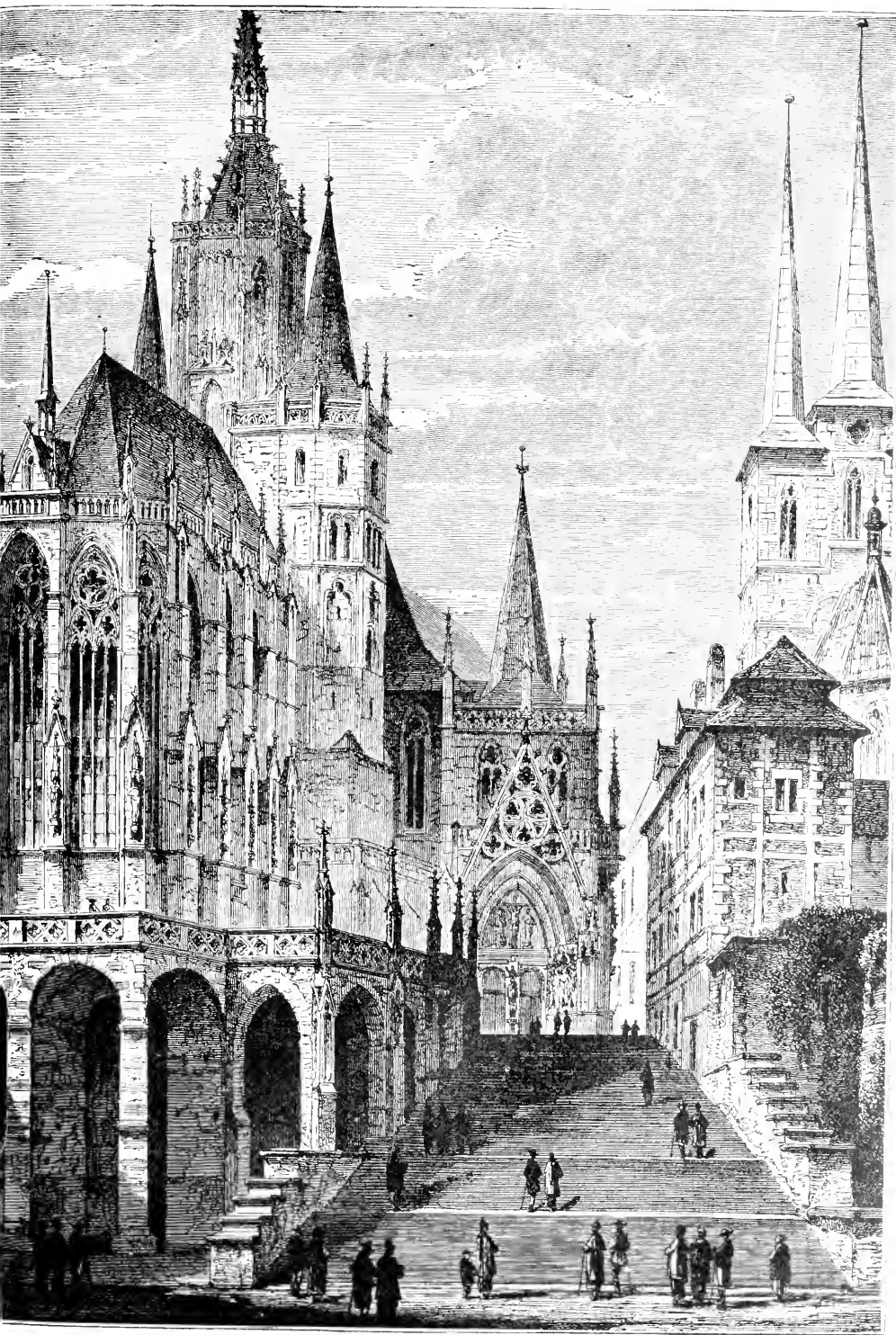
By a contradiction, explained by his education, it is chiefly in his correspondence, and his works written in French, that Rostoptchin attacks the nation so bitterly ; it is in French that the Russian nobles, pupils of the French of the eighteenth century, curse France. Miss Wilmot, writing about eighteen hundred and five, with an obvious intention of disparaging both nations, scoffs "at the absurdity of Bruin the bear when he gambols with a monkey on his shoulders." "In the midst of this adoption of French manners, habits, and language, there is something stupidly puerile in declamation against Bonaparte and the French, when the Russians cannot dine without a French cook to make ready their repast ; when they cannot bring up their children without the help of adventurers come from Paris, under the names of tutors and governors ; in a word, when all their notions of fashion, luxury, and elegance are borrowed from France. What arrant folly !"

Such was Russian society after Tilsit. On account of these evil dispositions towards France, the indignation raised by the abominable attempt of England against Denmark, and the bombardment of Copenhagen in a time of peace in September, eighteen hundred and seven, made a diversion of only short duration. At one moment we might almost believe that the Peace of Tilsit had but three partisans in Russia,—the Emperor, the Chancellor Rumiantsof, and Speranski. Yet Alexander began to find one illusion after another disappear : all the acts of his ally wounded his convictions. After the exile of the kings of Sardinia and Naples, he had to see the expulsion of the house of Braganza, the dethronement of the Bourbons of Spain, the forced flight of the Pope of Rome. The Confederation of the Rhine, increasing beyond all meas-

ure, now extended across the Elbe, and had reached the Baltic by means of Lübeck and Mecklenburg; on the Vistula, the grand duchy of Warsaw was being organized with formidable power. Peter Tolstoi, who certainly had done nothing to make himself liked at Paris, who was involved in a quarrel with Ney, and had entered into relations with the legitimists of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, was unable in any way to soften the lot of Frederic William the Third, or to obtain the promised evacuation of the Prussian States. Scanty, indeed, was the compensation for all these sacrifices. The first campaign against Sweden had been far from brilliant. The naval war with England was causing the ruin of Russian commerce. At Constantinople, General Guillemor, Napoleon's ambassador, had managed on the twenty-fourth of August, eighteen hundred and seven, to conclude an armistice between Turkey and Russia, in virtue of which the latter had to evacuate the Danubian principalities within thirty-five days; but as none of the conditions were fulfilled, the Russian troops still remained in Moldavia and Valakhia. There was no longer any likelihood of the partition of the Ottoman Empire, that brilliant vision which had led astray Alexander's lively imagination.

The famous Franco-Russian alliance was shaken. Napoleon, who wanted to make Spain and Portugal domains of his family, and had exiled the Spanish reigning family to Bayonne, had on his hands a terrible revolt to quiet, and he saw rising above the horizon another war with Austria. He therefore felt that he must give his ally some satisfaction. The interview at Erfurt took place on the seventeenth of September, eighteen hundred and eight, and lasted four weeks. Alexander was accompanied by his brother Konstantin, the ministers, Rumiantsof, Speranski, Prince Alexander Galitsuin, and two Frenchmen, the ambassador Caulaincourt, and Marshal Lannes, whom he had found at Bromberg, in Poland, on his visit to the King of Prussia, and had taken him into his

favor. Napoleon brought with him Berthier, the diplomatists Talleyrand, Champagny, Maret, and the Russian ambassador Tolstoï. There was also another court, formed by his German vassals: the Prince-Primate of the Rheinbund; the kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Westphalia; the grand dukes of Baden, Darmstadt, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg; and the sovereigns of Thuringia. Prussia was represented by Prince William, who came to plead for the interests of his brother; Austria by Baron Vincent, charged to salute the two emperors in the name of his master. The Russians, with wounded pride, did not fail to take notice of the superior influence of the French. "I seem to see my country degraded in the person of its sovereign," says Nikolai Turgénief, with passionate exaggeration. "There was no need to know what was passing in European cabinets; you could tell at a glance which of the two emperors was master at Erfürt and in Europe." Napoleon certainly wished to receive the Tsar in a town that was his own property, at Erfürt; it was certainly around him that this assemblage of sovereigns specially pressed, and these appearances really answered to a superiority of power. But though Napoleon neglected nothing to make the young Emperor forget all that was unequal in their respective situations, he could not undo the fact that Alexander had not been the victor at Friedland. Nor was he always wise in his overweening pride. He had a hare-hunt on the battle-field of Jena, and invited Prince William of Prussia. He decorated French soldiers with the cross of the Legion of Honor, bringing into special notice their glorious deeds in battle with the Russians, the cannon they had captured, the standards they had taken from the fleeing regiments of the Tsar. Such a scene was not calculated to soothe the Russian Emperor's irritation. The Grand Duke Konstantin was unable to endure it, and withdrew. But Alexander in no way showed his sensitiveness, and when the French players acted Voltaire's *Edipe*, Alexander repeated the celebrated line, "A great man's friend-



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ship is the noblest gift the gods can give," applying it to himself and Napoleon.

In the midst of fêtes, banquets, balls, theatrical representations, and hunting-parties, serious interests were discussed between the two sovereigns and their ministers. On the twelfth of October, eighteen hundred and eight, Champagny and Rumiantsof signed the following convention, which was to remain secret: The emperors of France and Russia renewed their alliance with all solemnity, and engaged to make peace or war in common; they were to communicate to each other all proposals which might be made to them; they were to propose an immediate peace to England in a manner as public and conspicuous as possible, so as to render refusal on the part of the British Cabinet more difficult. This proposition took the form of a letter addressed to the King of England, and signed by the two emperors. They agreed, moreover, to negotiate on the basis of *Uti possidetis*: France was to consent only to such a peace as secured to Russia, Finland, Valakhia, and Moldavia; Russia, only to a peace which should confirm France in all its actual possessions, and give to Joseph Bonaparte the crown of Spain and the Indies. Russia might set about immediately to obtain the Danubian provinces from Turkey, whether by peace or by war; but the French and Russian ambassadors should come to an understanding about the language to be used, "so as not to compromise the existing friendship between France and the Porte." And if Russia by the acquisition of the Danubian provinces, or France about its Italian or Spanish affairs, found themselves exposed to a rupture with Austria, the two allies were to make war in common. Napoleon had now fully determined to separate from Josephine. Talleyrand was trusted to treat of the question of Napoleon's marriage with Ekaterina Pavlovna, Alexander's sister. The recall of Tolstoï was demanded, and his place was filled by Prince Kurakin. Prussia obtained a remission of twenty million

francs of its war indemnity of one hundred and forty millions, and the evacuation of its territory on condition that its army should be reduced to forty-two thousand men. To recapitulate: Alexander guaranteed to Napoleon the tranquillity of the continent during his operations in Spain, while Napoleon ratified the seizure of Finland and the Danubian provinces. Napoleon accompanied Alexander a considerable way on the road from Erfürt to Weimar; they then once more bade each other farewell, and separated on the fourteenth of October. It was the last time that they met.

The alliance formed at Tilsit and confirmed at Erfürt involved Russia in three wars, — with England, with Sweden, and afterwards with Austria. Moreover, hostilities had been going on with Turkey since eighteen hundred and six, and with Persia and the tribes of the Caucasus ever since Alexander's accession to the throne.

The war with England is notable for only one fact of importance: The Russian fleet of the Archipelago, commanded by Admiral Seniavin, on its way to the Atlantic, as it sought harbor in the Tangas, on September eighth, eighteen hundred and eight, was obliged to surrender to Admiral Cotton, according to the Treaty of Cintra, signed by the French General, Junot. It was conveyed to England. The officers and the crews were treated with perfect courtesy, and sent back to Russia at English expense. Five years later Russia recovered the ships. The embargo was still in force against English shipping, and Russia to a certain degree fell in with the system of the continental blockade.

Gustavus the Fourth, King of Sweden, was not well regulated in mind; his hatred of Napoleon only equalled his inability to do him injury. Being a firm believer in the Bible, he saw in the Emperor of the French the veritable Beast of the Apocalypse. He caused a wretched pamphlet, called the "Nights of Saint Cloud," to be translated into Swedish. After concluding an armistice with Mortier, in eighteen hun-

dred and six, he broke it at the very time the negotiations were pending at Tilsit, just in time to lose his last possessions in Pomerania. He was able to live in peace neither with England, which he defied, nor with Prussia, which in misfortunes he insulted, nor with his brother-in-law Alexander. He alone of the European sovereigns applauded the bombardment of Copenhagen, and he regaled Admirals Gambier and Jackson at Helsingfors. When Alexander had to make him the first overtures relative to the peace with France and the adoption of the continental system, Gustavus the Fourth impertinently returned the ribbon of Saint Vladimir. On the eighteenth of February, eighteen hundred and eight, he signed a treaty with England. Then sixty thousand Russians, under Buxhœvden, crossed the Kiömen, which had been, since the time of Elisabeth, the boundary between the two States. A proclamation was addressed to the Finns, advising them not to resist "their friends, their protectors," and to appoint deputies for the diet which Alexander intended to assemble. The Swedish troops were dispersed, and retreated to the north; Finland was almost conquered in March, eighteen hundred and eight; Helsingfors, the impregnable Svéaborg, Abo, and the Isles of Aland fell into the hands of the Russians. Fortune seemed for one moment to hesitate when Klingspor gained two important successes over the Russians, but he was immediately after obliged to retire into the deserts of Bothnia. Another proclamation was issued to the Finnish soldiers serving in the Swedish army, inviting them to desert with arms and baggage, promising them two rubles for every gun, one ruble for a sabre, and six for a horse. During the winter the Russians fortified themselves in the Isles of Aland; and three corps, commanded by Kulner, Bagration, and Barclay de Tolly, crossed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice, and carried the war into the Swedish country. A military revolution broke out in Stockholm on the thirteenth of March, eighteen hundred and nine. No blood was shed,

but Gustavus the Fourth was arrested, and confined at Drottingholm with his family. Later he was set at liberty, and travelled in Europe under the name of Colonel Gustaffson. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, assumed the crown under the title of Charles the Thirteenth. He signed the Peace of Fredericksham, which ceded Finland as far as the river Tornea. In eighteen hundred and ten, when Christian Augustus of Holstein-Augustenburg, the prince royal elected by the States, died, Bernadotte, marshal of France, was chosen to fill his place. Napoleon had little sympathy with this proceeding; he would have preferred a Danish prince, whose accession would have brought about a Scandinavian union. The success of the war with Sweden caused little enthusiasm in Saint Petersburg, though the capital was secured from hostile attack, though the Swedish fleet was henceforth banished from the Gulf of Finland. "Poor Sweden! poor Swedes!" said the people. Finland, coveted for so long, had lost its value in the eyes of the Russians; it seemed too much a gift of Napoleon. According to his promise, Alexander had convoked the Diet of Finland, and guaranteed to the "grand duchy" its privileges, its university, and its constitution.

In April, eighteen hundred and nine, began the war of Napoleon and the fifth coalition against Austria. Alexander, whom the Treaty of Erfurt obliged to furnish a contingent, had done all he could to prevent this war. He had warned the Cabinet of Vienna that he was in alliance with Napoleon, and offered, on the part of himself and his ally, to guarantee the integrity of the Austrian possessions. Forced to put a contingent under arms, he gave the command of thirty thousand men to Prince Sergi Galitsuin, to act in concert with Poniatovski and Dombrowski, generals of the grand duchy of Warsaw, against the Archduke Ferdinand. This war of the Russians against the Austrians was a comedy; they detested their Polish allies, and feared their success in Galicia above everything. In the whole campaign there were only

two encounters between the Russians and Austrians : at the battle of Ulanovka, on June fifteenth, there was only one killed and two wounded, and the Austrian major sent excuses to Galitsuin, saying he thought he was attacking the Poles ; at the battle of Podgurzhe, near Krakof, there were two killed and two wounded.

The conflicts between the Russians and Poles were much more frequent. Galitsuin allowed Sandomir to be taken by the Austrians under his very eyes, and Poniatovski in vain denounced to Alexander this "traitorous conduct." On the other hand, the Russians entered Lemberg when the Poles had already taken it, and attempted to prevent the people swearing allegiance to Napoleon. At Krakof, the Russian and the Polish armies almost came to blows. The Poles were uneasy at seeing the Muscovites in Gallicia, and the Russians attributed all kinds of dangerous projects to the Poles. "Our allies disturb me more than the Austrians," writes Galitsuin to his master. He complains that Poniatovski, after having taken the title of commandant of the "Warsaw troops," or of "the ninth corps of the Grand Army," appropriated that of "commandant of the Polish army." "There is no Polish army," he said ; "there is only an army of Warsaw." "The Emperor of the French is at liberty to give what names he chooses to the corps which are under his orders," replied Poniatovski.

Galitsuin announced that Poniatovski had reinforced his army with Polish soldiers, deserters from Austrian regiments, and Lithuanian nobles, subjects of Russia. In the theatres of the Gallician towns the King of Poland was represented leaving his tomb, the Dwina and the Dnieper forming the frontiers of new Poland. Galitsuin counselled Alexander to take from the French this weapon of Polish propaganda, by proclaiming himself restorer of Poland. The Tsar refused, alleging the inconstancy of the Poles, and the necessity of preserving the Lithuanian provinces from all contagion.

At the Congress of Schönbrunn, on October fourteenth, eighteen hundred and nine, which preceded the Treaty of Vienna, the Emperor of Russia declined to have himself represented. He did not intend to sanction the results, but by so doing he left Austria unsupported, and in consequence it was obliged to cede its Illyrian provinces, and all Galicia. Napoleon added Western Galicia, with fifteen hundred thousand souls, to the grand duchy of Warsaw, while he gave Eastern Galicia, and a population of four hundred thousand, to Russia. This gift was not, however, sufficient to compensate Alexander for the danger of an aggrandized Poland.

The war with Turkey had already been going on for many years. In eighteen hundred and four Russia proposed to the Divan an alliance against France, but demanded at the same time that the subjects of the Sultan professing the orthodox religion should be placed under the immediate protection of the Russian diplomatic agents. Selim the Third repelled a proposal that threatened the very integrity of his empire. He tried to make advances to France, applauded the victories of Napoleon, and after Austerlitz acknowledged his imperial title and sent an envoy to Paris with presents, in spite of the efforts of the Russian ambassador Italski. After Jena an Ottoman ambassador left for Berlin, to strengthen the alliance with the padishah of the French. Ypsilanti and Morusi, hospodars of Valakhia and Moldavia, who were devoted to Russia, were stripped of their dominions. This was a breach of the Peace of Iassy with Catherine the Second.

About this time began the troubles of Serbia. The Janisaries of this country formed a turbulent militia, like that of Egypt and Algiers, oppressed the Christian populations, entered into a contest with the Pasha of Belgrad, the spahis, or noble cavalry, and other Mussulmans, and even trod under foot the authority of the Sultan. They would obey only their chiefs, four in number, who were called dakhié, or deys.

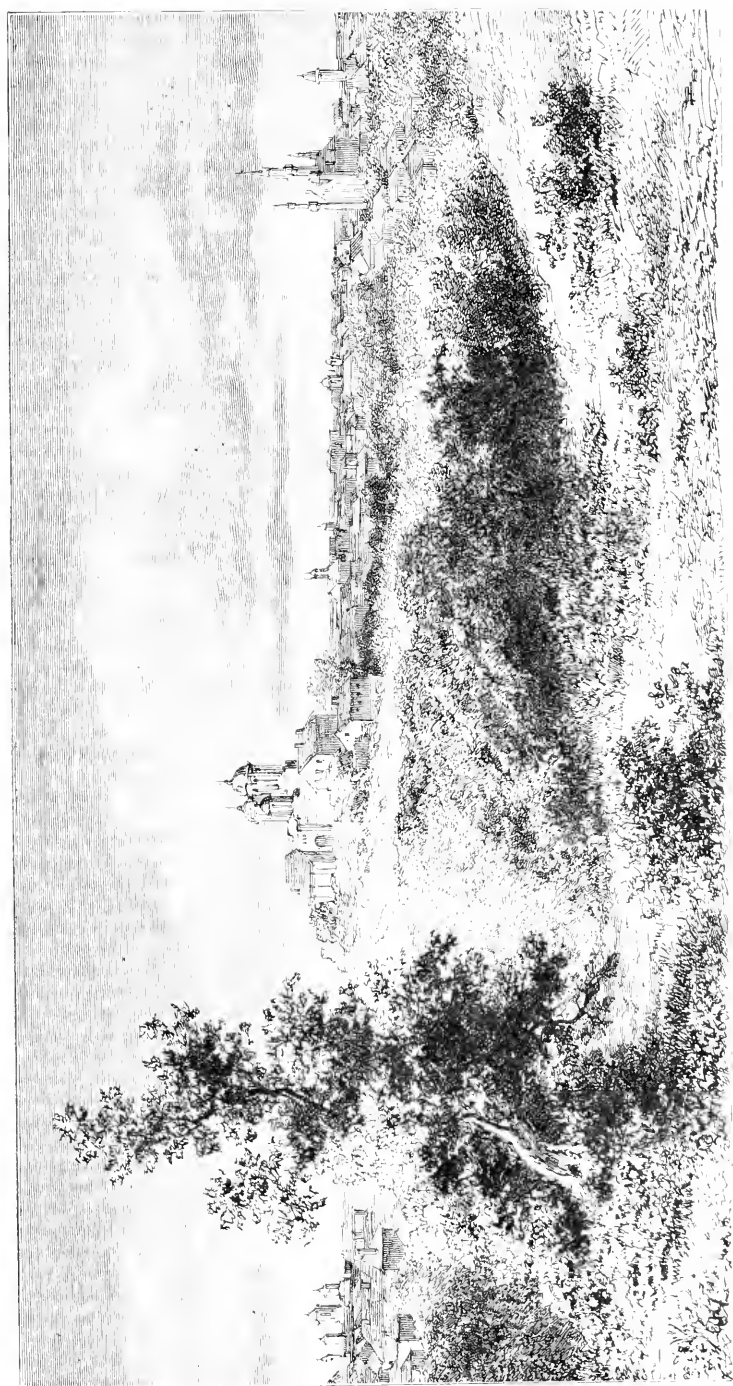
Several times the Sultan, Selim the Third, resolved to sup-

press this dangerous element, and at last the Janissaries of Serbia, in order to anticipate any attempt to do away with their privileges, decided to massacre the princes of the Christian population, which was hostile to them. This massacre took place during the month of February, eighteen hundred and four. Those who escaped joined the Haiduki, — powerful bands of Serbians who had fled from their homes and taken refuge in the forests. Thoroughly aroused by the murder of their countrymen, the Haiduki rose against the Janissaries, and put at their head Iuri Petrovitch, who was called Kara-Iuri, or George the Black. He was a rich pork-merchant, but having been involved in a previous revolt, and obliged to flee to Austria, he had in a fit of indignation killed his father, who was anxious for him to return and submit to the Turks. He returned to Serbia, however, and began a war of extermination with the Janissaries. The Haiduki expelled the Mussulmans and deys from Belgrad, Shabatch, and Ushitza, affecting all the time to be only executing the orders of the Sultan. When Selim wished to recall them to obedience and demanded the restitution of the strong places, they broke with the Sultan himself, and declared themselves independent. They would have been crushed by the superior forces of the neighboring pashas, if the Russians had not taken up arms in eighteen hundred and six, which freed the frontiers. Alexander sent them an auxiliary corps under Colonel Bala.

The Russian ambassador protested against the deposition of Ypsilanti and Morusi, and against the violation of the Treaty of Iassy. The English ambassador almost induced the Divan to yield on October seventeenth, eighteen hundred and six, when without a declaration of war the Russian general Michelson crossed the frontier, invaded Moldavia with thirty-five thousand men, took Khotin and Bender, entered Bukarest, and advanced towards the Danube. The British ambassador wished to act as mediator, but he was not listened to, and so he demonstratively withdrew from Constantinople.

In February, eighteen hundred and seven, the English fleet under Admiral Duckworth passed the Dardanelles, burnt a part of the Turkish fleet in the Sea of Marmora, and appeared at the entrance of the Bosphorus, blockading Constantinople for a few days. This demonstration failed before the firmness of the Sultan Selim and the military preparations of the French ambassador Sebastiani. Engineer and artillery officers hastened from the French army of Dalmatia. The English vessels returned to Malta, and the Turkish fleet, crossing the Dardanelles in its turn, gave battle to the Russian Admiral Seniavin, in the waters of Tenedos. It was beaten. A short time after, in May, Selim the Third was deposed in consequence of a revolt of the Janissaries, who claimed that he insulted the faith of Islam by introducing reforms into the army and the empire. Napoleon used his fall as a pretext for sacrificing Turkey at Tilsit.

Guilleminot, Sebastiani's successor, received an order to aid the Russians "in everything, not officially, but effectively." In spite of the armistice concluded by his exertions, the Russian troops continued to occupy the principalities, whose administration was confided to a divan composed of Russians and Rumanian boyars. After Erfürt, the Sultan having refused to subscribe to the dismemberment of his empire, the war began anew. The campaign of eighteen hundred and nine was partially successful; the Russians conquered nearly all the fortresses on the Danube, but were defeated in Bulgaria by the Grand Vizier. In eighteen hundred and ten Field-Marshal Kamenski reconquered Bulgaria as far as the Balkans, and gained a brilliant victory at Batinia, near Rushtchuk. In eighteen hundred and eleven his successor, Kutuzof, managed to draw the Grand Vizier to the left bank of the Danube, and crushed him at Slobodzei, but the imminence of a rupture with France forced the Tsar to withdraw five divisions of the army of the Danube. A congress assembled at Bukarest in eighteen hundred and twelve, in which Russia gave up Mol-



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davia and Valakhia, but kept Bessarabia, a Rumanian district, with the fortresses of Khotin and Bender. The Pruth and the Lower Danube, where Russia acquired Ismail and Kilia, formed the limit of the two empires. It was agreed that the hospodars of Valakhia and Moldavia should be restored, and all the ancient privileges of those countries confirmed. The eighth article stipulated for an amnesty in favor of the Serbians, who were to remain subjects of the Sultan, but to be governed by Iuri Petrovitch, assisted by the *skupshchina*, or national assembly. Turkey took no part in the wars of eighteen hundred and twelve and eighteen hundred and thirteen; but it profited by them to violate the eighth article, and demand that the Serbians should deliver over all their arms and accoutrements, and receive Turkish garrisons into all the cities of the principality. The Serbians had an army of twenty thousand men, and one hundred and fifty cannon. George the Black refused to listen to these demands, and in the spring of eighteen hundred and thirteen three Ottoman armies invaded the country, and re-established the ancient order of things. George the Black, and the greater part of the Serbian voïevodni, fled to Austrian soil; others were put to death; one alone remained in the country, and managed to gain the respect and even confidence of the Turks. This was Milosh Obrénovitch. When the oppression became too intolerable, he gave the signal for a new insurrection in the spring of eighteen hundred and fifteen, and reconquered the independence of his country. The Turks, having been defeated at Ertari and Mashva, withdrew from the country, and George the Black hastened to return. Milosh, however, caused him to be assassinated just as he crossed the border, and, being now free from a dangerous rival, he entered into negotiations with the Turks, and made the Porte accept a treaty in November, eighteen hundred and seventeen, which recognized the autonomy of Serbia, under the sceptre of the Sultan, with a national government composed of Milosh as hereditary prince,

and a *skupshitchina*, but with the principal fortresses occupied by Ottoman garrisons. This system lasted till eighteen hundred and sixty-seven.

At the same time as the Turkish war, hostilities began in eighteen hundred and six against Persia, which wished to regain its authority over Georgia, and against the tribes of the Caucasus. Prince Tsitsianof, Count Gudovitch, Tormasof, and Kotliarevski all distinguished themselves in this campaign. In eighteen hundred and three Tsitsianof had caused Maria, the Tsaritsa-mother of Georgia, to be transported to Saint Petersburg, as she refused to recognize the legitimacy of the cession made by her eldest son to Paul the First. He subdued the Shirvan, but was treacherously assassinated by the khan Hussein-Kuli, under the walls of Baku. Glasénop punished Ali-Khan, an accomplice in the crime, by depriving him of Derbend. Persia attempted to come to the aid of the Caucasian tribes, and Prince Abbas-Mirza passed the Araxes with twenty thousand men, but was defeated. This laborious war lasted till eighteen hundred and thirteen. But a more serious struggle was already beginning to absorb all the attention and forces of Russia.

GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW: CAUSES OF THE SECOND WAR WITH NAPOLEON.

The misunderstanding between Alexander and Napoleon became more bitter day by day. The most important of the causes leading to it were the following: The growth of the grand duchy of Warsaw; the discontent of Napoleon at the conduct of the Russians in the campaign of eighteen hundred and nine; the abandonment of the project of a Russian marriage, and the substitution of an Austrian marriage; the increasing rivalry of the two States at Constantinople and on the Danube; the Napoleonic encroachments of eighteen hundred and ten in Northern Germany; irritation produced by the continental blockade; and the mistrust occasioned by the respective armaments.

At the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon had formed the grand duchy of Warsaw out of the Prussian provinces of Warsaw, Posnania, and Bromberg, with a population of two million five hundred thousand. At the Treaty of Vienna he had increased it by Western Gallicia, including Krakof, Radom, Lublin, and Sandomir, inhabited by fifteen hundred thousand people. He had reserved to himself all the means for reconstituting Poland; he had given Dantzic to no one, and had declared it a free city; the Illyrian provinces of Austria might in his hands soon be exchanged for the rest of Gallicia; and the treaty of eighteen hundred and twelve with the Emperor Francis was to realize this calculation. There was no need even to take away the acquisitions of the third partitioner, Russia, for at that time Russia possessed only Lithuania and White Russia, provinces which, as we know, are not Polish. It sufficed to take back what he had himself ceded to Alexander out of the spoils of Prussia and Austria, — Bielostok and Western Gallicia, the latter being still in great part Little Russian. The name of Poland was not pronounced officially, but in fact it already existed. To be sure, it had a foreigner, the King of Saxony, for its sovereign, but the ancestors of Frederic Augustus had reigned over Poland, and it was to the house of Saxony that the patriots of the third of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, had wished to secure the succession after Stanislas Poniatovski.

The Constitution of eighteen hundred and seven, compiled by a Polish commission, and approved by Napoleon, was almost that of the third of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-one. Napoleon had advised the King of Saxony to dismiss the Prussian officials, and to govern Poland with the Poles. The executive power belonged to the king, who was assisted by a council of responsible ministers with a president at their head. The legislative power was divided between the king, the senate, and the legislative body. The senate was composed of six bishops, six palatines, and six castellans;

the legislative body, of sixty deputies elected in the districts from the nobility, and forty deputies from the towns; their chief work lay in the imposition of taxes and the compilation of the laws. After the annexation of Western Gallicia the number of members of parliament was increased. Napoleon could boast, as Bignon says, of having "raised a tribune in the midst of the silent atmosphere of the neighboring governments." The Zamok, the old royal castle in which the Parliament sat, was the centre of the Polands still disunited. Napoleon gave the grand duchy his Civil Code, which did not express the actual social state of the country, but on which the social state was to model itself. He proclaimed the freedom of the serfs, while preserving to their former masters the right of property over the lands. With regard to this, the present Russian government has proceeded in a more radical fashion. Napoleon created parliamentary Poland, — a Poland whose liberty was based on greater equality than in former times.

The army of the grand duchy was raised to thirty thousand men after eighteen hundred and seven, to fifty thousand after eighteen hundred and nine; at its head was Iosiph Poniatovski, nephew of the last king, the man who was vanquished at Ziélentsé, the hero of many a Napoleonic battle. Under him served Dombrowski, a soldier of the campaign of seventeen hundred and ninety-nine; Zaïontchek, who had fought with the French in Egypt; and Khlopitski, the intrepid leader of the Polish legions in Spain. The sentiments which animated the army are still reflected in the recently published "Memoirs of a Polish Officer," written by General Brandt.

In a country where every peasant is born a horseman, the cavalry was always admirable; the infantry had lately been improved; the artillery had been organized by the Frenchmen Bontemps and Pelletier; the fortresses of Plotsk, Modlin, Thorn, and Zimosts had been restored by Haxo and Alix.

The army, where the former serf was shoulder to shoulder with the gentleman, was a school of equality. The famous legions of the Vistula, made use of by Napoleon for his own private ends, acquired an imperishable glory in the wars of Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

The ministers of the grand duchy — Stanislas Pototski, president of the council, Iosiph Poniatovski, minister of war, Lubinski, of justice, Matushevitch, of finance, Sobolevski, of police, and others — were upright and intelligent men. Bignon, Napoleon's representative, a man of clear understanding and admirable qualifications, was full of devotion to Poland. Unfortunately, he was recalled, on the eve of the supreme crisis, and the Archbishop of Malines, Abbé de Pradt, a noisy and vain character, made still more disagreeable by literary vanity, was sent to Warsaw to play the part of a mighty and luxurious lord, and a large sum of money was put at his disposition, to enable him to entertain the Polish gentry. He was instructed to do all in his power to induce the Poles, in case war broke out between France and Russia, to join their army with the French. But Napoleon soon had reason to repent of his choice of the Archbishop, who, meddling with despatches and debates, seriously compromised him, when he wished at present to remain neutral. Finally, he was obliged to tell the enthusiastic Poles that he could not see it in his power to do anything toward re-establishing Poland on its old footing. It is true, Warsaw had its parties. The Tchlartorniski had with reason made up their minds, in case of need, to have recourse to Alexander's generosity. Nevertheless, in eighteen hundred and eleven, when the guns of Warsaw announced the birth of the King of Rome, all thought themselves in safety under the protectorate of France. Never had the lively and witty Polish society been so brilliant. The growth of the Warsaw army, which was in reality the vanguard of the Grand Army of the Vistula, was always an object of disquietude for Alexander and anger for

the Russians. The "mixed subjects" — that is, the nobles who held lands in the grand duchy and in Lithuania, and who passed from one service to the other — were the pretext for perpetual diplomatic intrigues. Alexander remarked bitterly that "the spectre of Poland" was being worked on the untrustworthy frontier of Lithuania.

Napoleon had not hesitated to complain to Kurakin of the way in which the Gallician campaign had been conducted. "You were lukewarm," he said; "you never drew the sword once."

The projected marriage with Anna Pavlovna, Alexander's sister, met with difficulties in more than one direction. The Empress-mother, Mary of Würtemberg, by the will of Paul, which was kept at the Assumption in the Kreml, had been invested with absolute power to dispose of her daughters in marriage. But she alleged that the laws of the orthodox church did not allow marriage with a man who had been divorced. Anna was already betrothed to the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, while her sister Ekaterina, perhaps with a view of escaping a request of this nature, had been married to the Grand Duke Peter of Oldenburg. Napoleon's first marriage had been barren, and he might a second time repudiate his wife. The difference of religion was another barrier. Anna could not embrace Catholicism, and the idea of seeing a Russian priest and chapel at the Tuileries was repugnant to Napoleon. Alexander took little pains to press the negotiation; he complicated it by another negotiation for a formal promise that Poland should never be re-established. Napoleon lost all patience, and, as the house of Hapsburg seemed to be ready to meet his wishes, the Austrian marriage was concluded.

Alexander felt both anger and regret. A closer alliance between France and Austria was prejudicial to the essential interests of Russia in the East and on the Danube. In eighteen hundred and nine Talleyrand submitted to Napoleon a

project which consisted in indemnifying Austria by putting it in possession of the Rumanian principalities, and of the Slav provinces of Turkey, which would have created a permanent conflict of interests between Russia and Austria. The former, driven from the Danube, would have been forced to turn towards Central Asia, towards Hindostan. In this emergency it would in turn have found itself at perpetual war with England, and all germ of coalition against the French Empire would by this means have been extinguished. In the same year Duroc laid before Napoleon another memorial, in which he showed: that the alliance with Russia was contrary to French traditional policy; that the French possessions in Italy and Dalmatia were threatened by the action of Russia in Serbia and Greece; that Russia defended Prussia only because it reckoned on the use of the Prussian army if needed; that it favored the Spanish enterprise, in the hope of seeing two hundred thousand Frenchmen perish in the Peninsula; that the interest of the Napoleonic dynasty demanded that Russia should be pushed as far as possible to the East; that the dismemberment of Poland had been the shame of the old dynasty; and lastly, that the re-establishment of it was necessary to the greatness of France and the security of Europe. Prince Kurakin managed to procure a copy of this memorial, and sent it to the Emperor Alexander in March, eighteen hundred and nine, pointing out "how dangerous it was for Russia to permit the ruin of Austria." Alexander remembered this in the campaign of eighteen hundred and nine.

In eighteen hundred and ten the *Senatus Consultum* of July pronounced the union of the whole of Holland to the French Empire; that of December, the reunion with France of three Hanse towns, besides Oldenburg, and other German territories. It was not a simple occupation for the purpose of securing the execution of the continental blockade; it was an annexation. In the law of nations, as understood by

Napoleon, these decisions of the senate were to replace treaties. Where were these encroachments to stop? Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, free towns, whose existence was an object of interest to the commerce of the whole world, and especially to Russia, were now French. By means of Lübeck, the French Empire would strengthen its hold on the Baltic, on that "Variag Sea," where the Russians, since Peter the First, had been disputing the preponderance of the Scandinavians. Another of these annexations, that of Oldenburg, wounded Alexander yet more deeply. He saw his sister Ekaterina and her husband, robbed of their crowns, taking refuge in Saint Petersburg. The wrong to his interests and his affections was yet further increased by the want of respect towards him. He had neither been consulted nor informed of the step. Like the rest of the world, Alexander heard of this conquest, in the height of peace, through the *Moniteur*. It is true, that since that time many other German allies of the imperial house have been deprived of their crowns or their essential prerogatives, without any remonstrance from Russia.

Kurakin was charged to draw the attention of Champagny to the twelfth article of the Peace of Tilsit, which expressly declared that Oldenburg was to be under Russian auspices. Champagny talked of the necessity of the step, and assured him that the Grand Duke should receive an indemnity, but that he must become a French subject if he wished to remain in Oldenburg. Alexander sent a note to all the other cabinets, in which, while affirming the maintenance of his alliance with Napoleon, he protested against the annexation of Oldenburg. The conqueror was deeply irritated at the publicity of this note, as well as at the remarks accompanying the protest.

As to the continental blockade, although it was observed by Russia less strictly than by France, yet it suffered cruelly from it. The commerce with England was stopped. The

Russian aristocracy made a plot to reopen the sea to their hemp, their grains, and the other natural productions of the country. The paper ruble, which was worth sixty-seven silver kopecks in Paul's reign, and which, during Alexander's early years, had risen as high as eighty, was not worth more than twenty-five in eighteen hundred and ten. In December of this same year Alexander promulgated an edict which, with the apparent design of preventing specie from leaving the country, proscribed the importation of objects of luxury from whatever country they came, particularly of silks, ribbons, embroideries, bronzes, and porcelains; and wines were heavily taxed. This struck chiefly at French commerce. The forbidden goods were ordered to be burnt. Napoleon was exasperated, and said, "I would rather have received a blow on the cheek."

For some time Kurakin, the Russian envoy at Paris, while recognizing the fact that Russia could not cope with Napoleon, had been advising a policy of intimidation by collecting great armaments. Accordingly five divisions of the army of the Danube were recalled; a levy of four men in every five hundred was ordered to be raised, and the fortresses of the Dwina and the Dnieper were put in a state of defence. A new fortress, Bobruisk, was built in Lithuania, which seemed likely to be the theatre of the war. These preparations provoked similar measures by Napoleon. Such an emulation in threatening precautions naturally led to a rupture. As soon as the "army of Warsaw" was put on a warlike footing, the army of occupation in Northern Germany was reinforced; Napoleon summoned some regiments from Spain, and notably the Polish legions; the army of Naples advanced towards Upper Italy, the army of Italy towards Bavaria; in the vast military establishment known as the Grand Army, which covered the entire Continent, from Madrid to Dantzic, a general movement from the West to the East was felt. The grievances of the two emperors against each other were

brought forward in some lively interviews of Napoleon, first with the ambassador Kurakin, and then with the aide-de-camp Tchernishef, Alexander's envoy extraordinary, who was twice sent to Paris with autograph letters. Napoleon received Tchernishef in a friendly way, and even pinched his ear, but passionately discussed all the questions relative to Poland, to the Danubian principalities, to Oldenburg, to the continental blockade, to the ukas of December, to Alexander's threatening preparations. He at once rejected the idea of giving the whole or even a part of the grand duchy of Warsaw as an indemnity for Oldenburg. "Expect nothing from Poland," said Napoleon, in an interview on his birthday in August; "I will not give you a village or a mill from that country." The mission of Tchernishef was unsuccessful, but in February and March, eighteen hundred and twelve, he was again sent to Napoleon, and thought to have accomplished great things, but he compromised himself seriously; Michiels, an employé of the War Minister, was shot for allowing himself to be bribed, and for having delivered to him the estimates of the Grand Army, which proved, however, to be of very slight value. It was about this period that Napoleon ordered the publication in the newspapers of a series of articles wherein it was shown "that Europe was sure to become the prey of Russia," and declared that "the invasion must be checked, the universal domination must be extinguished." About this time also Lesur published the famous book, entitled "Of the Progress of the Russian Power," in which we meet for the first time with the apocryphal document called the "Will of Peter the Great."

Napoleon recalled Caulaincourt, whom he thought too Russian, and who, being conciliatory, was much embarrassed with the part he had to play. He replaced him by General Lauriston, who could not reckon on the confidence of Alexander. Everything showed that war was inevitable. Alexander, like Napoleon, was negotiating only in order to gain time

and finish his preparations. The rupture of the alliance was patent to all. At Murat's court the French envoy, Durand, fought a duel with the Russian envoy, Dolgoruki. Alexander suddenly disgraced Speranski, the friend of France, whom Araktchéef and other of his enemies had finally succeeded in traducing. He was summoned to the Emperor's cabinet on the evening of the twenty-ninth of March, and after a two hours' interview left the palace in tears. When he reached his home, the police were already occupied in sealing his papers. A kibitka stood at the door, and without even taking leave of his only daughter, he was driven to Nijui Novgorod, where he was kept under the closest surveillance. The Emperor mourned as for the loss of a right hand, but placed in his position Admiral Shishkof, a moderately talented man, who prayed much and fasted more, and confined himself to simply accompanying the Emperor on his journeys. Alexander sent for Stein, the great German patriot, Napoleon's mortal foe, who was then, at Napoleon's instigation, under the ban of the Confederation. Russia hastened to conclude peace with Turkey, and negotiated with Sweden for an alliance, with England for a treaty of subsidies. Napoleon, on his side, signed two conventions with Prussia and Austria, which assured him the help of twenty thousand Prussians and thirty thousand Austrians in the projected expedition. Sweden and Turkey would have been more certain allies, but the treaties of Tilsit and Erfürt had alienated them from the French; Sweden had suffered, like Russia, from the continental blockade, and the Prince-Royal Bernadotte had not pardoned Napoleon for his refusal to give him Norway, and for having occupied Swedish Pomerania. On the ninth of May, eighteen hundred and twelve, Napoleon left Paris for Dresden, for the centre of his army. The ambassadors, Kurakin and Lauriston, demanded their passports.

THE "PATRIOTIC WAR": BATTLE OF BORODINO;
BURNING OF MOSCOW; DESTRUCTION OF THE
GRAND ARMY.

With the military resources of France, which then counted one hundred and thirty departments, with the contingents furnished by his Italian kingdoms, by the Confederation of the Rhine, by the grand duchy of Warsaw, and with the auxiliary forces of Prussia and Austria, Napoleon could bring a formidable army into the field. On the first of June the Grand Army amounted to six hundred and seventy-eight thousand men, three hundred and fifty-six thousand of whom were French, and three hundred and twenty-two thousand foreigners. Reckoning the reserves, it amounted to eleven hundred thousand men. It included not only Belgians, Dutchmen, Hanoverians, Hanseats, Piedmontese, and Romans, then confounded under the name of Frenchmen, but also the Italian army, the Neapolitan army, the Spanish regiments, natives of Germany and Baden, Würtembergers, Bavarians, Darmstadt Hessians, Jerome's Westphalians, soldiers of the half-French grand duchies of Berg and Frankfort, Saxons, Thuringians, and Mecklenburgers. Besides Napoleon's marshals, it had at its head Eugène, Viceroy of Italy; Murat, King of Naples; Jerome, King of Westphalia; the princes royal, and heirs of nearly all the houses in Europe. The Poles alone in this war, which recalled to them that of sixteen hundred and twelve, mustered sixty thousand men under their standards. Other Slavs from the Illyrian provinces, Karinthians, Dalmatians, and Kroats, were led to assault the great Slav empire. It was indeed the "army of twenty nations," as it is still called by the Russian people.

Napoleon swept all the races of the West against the East by a movement similar to that of the great invasions, and Russia seemed likely to be overwhelmed by a human avalanche.

When the Grand Army prepared to cross the Niemen, it

was arranged thus: To the left, before Tilsit, Macdonald with ten thousand French, and twenty thousand Prussians under General York of Wartenburg; before Kovno, Napoleon with the troops of Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, the guard commanded by Bessières, the immense reserve cavalry under Murat, — in all a total of one hundred and eighty thousand men; before Pilyny, Eugène with fifty thousand Italians and Bavarians; before Grodno, Jerome Bonaparte, with sixty thousand Poles, Westphalians, Saxons, and others. We must add to these the thirty thousand Austrians of Schwarzenberg, who would fight in Galicia as mildly against the Russians as the Russians had fought against the Austrians in eighteen hundred and nine. Victor guarded the Vistula and the Oder with thirty thousand men; Augereau, the Elbe with fifty thousand. Without reckoning the divisions of Macdonald, Schwarzenberg, Victor, and Augereau, it was with about two hundred and ninety thousand men, half of whom were French, that Napoleon marched to cross the Niemen and threaten the centre of Russia.

Alexander had collected on the Niemen ninety thousand men, commanded by Bagration; on the Bug, tributary to the Vistula, sixty thousand men, commanded by Barclay de Tolly: those were what were called the Northern army and the army of the South. On the extreme right, Wittgenstein with thirty thousand men was to oppose Macdonald almost throughout the campaign; on the extreme left, to occupy the Austrian Schwarzenberg as harmlessly as possible, Tormasof was placed with forty thousand. Later this latter army, reinforced by fifty thousand men from the Danube, became formidable, and was destined, under Admiral Tchitchagof, seriously to embarrass the retreat of the French. In the rear of all these forces was a reserve of eighty thousand men, — Cossacks, and the militia. Only a few contingents of the militia, brave muzhiki with long beards, were to figure in the campaign, but its imposing total of six hundred and twelve thousand men could

hardly have existed except on paper. In reality, to the two hundred and ninety thousand men Napoleon had mustered under his hand, the Emperor of Russia could oppose only the one hundred and fifty thousand of Bagration and Barclay de Tolly. He counted on the devotion of the nation. "O that the enemy," says a proclamation of the Tsar, "may encounter in each noble a Pozharski, in each ecclesiastic a Palitsuin, in each citizen a Minin. Rise, all of you! With the cross in your hearts and arms in your hands, no human force can prevail against you."

At the opening of the campaign the headquarters of Alexander were at Vilna. Besides his generals, he had there his brother Konstantin, his ministers Araktchéef, Balashef, Kotchubey, and Volkonski, the chiefs of the Lithuanian nobility, Princes Sulkovski and Lubetski, and others. There were collected also refugees of all nations, — Stein from among the Germans, the generals Wolzogen and Pfühl, the Piedmontese Michaux, the Swede Armfelt, and the Italian Paulucci. They deliberated and argued much. To attack Napoleon was to furnish him with the opportunity he wished; to retire into the interior leaving a desert behind them, as Barclay had advised in eighteen hundred and seven, seemed hard and humiliating. A middle course was sought by adopting the scheme of Pfühl, — to establish an intrenched camp at Drissa, on the Dwina, and to make it a Russian Torres Vedras. The events in the Peninsula filled all minds. Pfühl desired to act like Wellington at Torres Vedras. Others proposed a guerilla warfare like that of Spain. But while they were wasting their time in vain deliberations, the French army crossed the Niemen and surprised Vilna. Barclay had to fall back on the Dwina, and Bagration on the Duieper.

Napoleon made his entry into Vilna, the ancient capital of the Lithuanian Gedimin. He had said in his second proclamation, "The second Polish war has begun!" The Diet of Warsaw had pronounced the re-establishment of the kingdom

of Poland, and sent a deputation to Vilna to demand the adhesion of Lithuania, and to obtain the Emperor's protection. We can understand with what ardor the Lithuanian nobility crowded around Napoleon. The decision of the Polish diet was solemnly accepted by the Lithuanians. "This ceremony," relates Fezensac, "took place in the cathedral of Vilna, where all the nobility had assembled together. The men were dressed in the ancient Polish costume, the women adorned with red and violet ribbons, the national colors." As to the Poles, properly so called, although Napoleon, by dispersing the army of sixty thousand men among the divisions, had rendered it invisible, nothing could equal their enthusiasm; boundless hope filled all hearts. The work begun at Tilsit at the expense of Prussia, continued at Vienna at the expense of Austria, was to be finished at the expense of Russia! At last they were to taste the revenge which France had prepared for eighteen years for the faithful legions of Dombrowski! This was the splendid gift with which the Emperor was going to reward the zeal of his Grognauds, his old soldiers of the Vistula! "The young officers had recovered their confidence in the star of Napoleon," says Brandt. "Our elders might well laugh at our enthusiasm, and call us mad and possessed; we dreamed only of battles and victories; we feared only one thing, a too great anxiety for peace on the part of the Russians. . . . We had in our ranks numerous descendants of the Lithuanians who had fought a hundred years before, under the banners of Charles the Twelfth, — Radzivils, Sapiehas, Tysenhausen, and Khodskos." However, the enormous incapacity of Pradt at Warsaw, and the somewhat reserved answers of Napoleon at Vilna, caused a little hesitation. This was his reply to the deputation from Warsaw: "If I had reigned during the partitions of Poland, I should have armed all my subjects to support you. I applaud all that you have done; I authorize the efforts that you wish to make; all that depends on me to second your resolutions, I

will do. But I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his States. Let Lithuania, Samogitia, Volhynia, the Ukraina, and Podolia be animated by the same spirit that I have seen in Great Poland, and Providence will crown with success the sanctity of your cause." In Lithuania the movement could not be truly national, since the people were not Poles. Napoleon, either with the design of pleasing Austria, of preserving the possibility of peace with Russia, or because he was afraid to make Poland too strong, took only half-measures. He gave Lithuania an administration distinct from that of Poland; assembled a commission, which voted the creation of a Lithuanian army, formed of four regiments of infantry and five of cavalry; and spent four hundred thousand francs in aid of their equipment. A national guard — composed of infantry for the towns, of horse for the country — was to watch over the security of the provision trains, and to help the French soldiers to maintain discipline. A last attempt to negotiate a peace failed. To gain time, Alexander sent General Balashof to Vilna, demanding that the whole French army should recross the Niemen before any negotiations could be begun. And on his side Napoleon proposed two unacceptable conditions: the abandonment of Lithuania, and the declaration of war against Great Britain. If Napoleon, instead of plunging into Russia, had contented himself with organizing and defending the ancient principality of Lithuania, no power on earth could have prevented the re-establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian State within its former limits. The destinies of France and Europe would have been changed.

The road which led to Vilna passed through a sort of natural pass, due to the configuration of the Dwina and the Dnieper, the one making an angle near Vitepsk, the other near Orsha, thereby ceasing to bar the way to the invader. To be sure, there were the raised works at Drissa on the Dwina, the Torres Vedras of the learned Pfühl; but the place of the

camp was so badly chosen, with the river at the back, and only four bridges in case of retreat, and was so easily outflanked by way of Vitepsk, that it was resolved to abandon it. There existed in the army immense irritation against Pfühl, against the Germans, against the multiplicity of commands. It seemed out of place for the Tsar to be with the army; they remembered Austerlitz. The Russian nobles made up their minds to induce him to depart; Araktchéf himself, and Balashof, the Minister of Police, respectfully represented to him that his presence would be more useful at Smolensk, at Moscow, or at Saint Petersburg, where he could convoke the orders of the State, demand sacrifices both in men and money, and keep up the patriotic enthusiasm. From that time Barclay and Bagration commanded their armies alone.

Napoleon feared to penetrate into the interior; he would have liked to gain some brilliant success not far from the Lithuanian frontier, and overwhelm one of the two Russian armies, but the vast spaces, the bad roads, the misunderstandings, the growing disorganization of the army, caused all his movements to fail. Barclay de Tolly, after having given battle at Ostrovno and Vitepsk, fell back on Smolensk; Bagration fought at Mohilef and Orsha, and in order to rejoin Barclay retreated to Smolensk. There the two Russian generals held council. Their troops were exasperated by this continual retreat, and Barclay, a good tactician, with a clear and methodical mind, did not agree with Bagration, who was impetuous, like a true pupil of Suvorof. The one held firmly for a retreat, in which the Russian army would become stronger and stronger, and the French army weaker and weaker, as they advanced into the interior; the other wished to act on the offensive, full of risk as it was. The army was on the side of Bagration, and Barclay, a German of the Baltic provinces, was suspected, and all but insulted. He consented to take the initiative against Murat, who had arrived at Krasnoé, and a bloody battle was fought on August fourteenth.

On the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth of August another desperate fight took place at Smolensk, in which the town was burnt, and twenty thousand men perished. Barclay still retired, drawing with him Bagration. In his retreat Bagration fought Ney at Valutina; it was Eylau on a smaller scale: fifteen thousand men of both armies remained on the field of battle.

Napoleon felt that he was being enticed into the interior of Russia. The Russians still retreated, laying waste all behind them. "Tell us only when the moment is come, we will set fire to our dwellings," said the peasants to the soldiers. Smolensk caused a loss of three days; but the Russians on their side were astonished that the ancient fortress, which had sustained so many lengthy sieges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had resisted Napoleon only that length of time. The Grand Army was melting away before their very eyes. From the Niemen to Vilna, without ever having seen the enemy, it had lost fifty thousand men from sickness, desertion, and stragglers; from Vilna to Mohilef, nearly one hundred thousand. Ney was reduced from thirty-six thousand men to twenty-two thousand; Oudinot from thirty-eight thousand to twenty-three thousand; Murat from twenty-two thousand to fourteen thousand; the Bavarians, attacked by dysentery, from twenty-seven thousand to thirteen thousand; the Italian division Pino from eleven thousand to five thousand; the Italian guard, the Westphalians, the Poles, the Saxons, and the Kroats had not suffered less. The "ignoble and dangerous crowds of stragglers," as they were called by Brandt, encumbered all the roads, pillaged the convoys and the magazines, with open violence plundered the villages and towns, and did not even respect their officers when they found them alone. They had devoured Poland and Lithuania in their passage through them. At Minsk, whilst the *Te Deum* was being chanted for the deliverance of Lithuania, cuirassiers had broken into the shops. In this march against the

enemy the miseries of the retreat might be clearly foreseen. Napoleon did what he could to fill the voids which were already so sensible. He ordered Victor's army to advance into Lithuania, Augereau to pass the Elbe and the Oder, and the hundred cohorts of the national guards to make themselves ready to cross the Rhine. In the north Macdonald repulsed Wittgenstein, took Polotsk after a battle on the eighteenth of August, occupied Dünaaburg, threatened to invest Riga, and disquieted Saint Petersburg; but in the south, Tormasof obtained some success over Reynier and Schwartzberg.

In the Russian army the discontent grew with the retreating movement; they were always retiring, now on Dorogobuzh, now on Viasma; they began to murmur as much against Bagration as against Barclay. Then Alexander, yielding to the common feeling, united the two armies under the supreme command of Kutuzof, of whom, indeed, he had a very low opinion. But Kutuzof had on his side the reminiscences of Amstetten, Krems, and Dirnstein; it was not to him that Ansterlitz was imputed. He was a true Russian of the old school, indolent and sleepy in appearance, but very judicious and very patriotic. No one understood better than he did the Russian soldier and the national character. Men needed hope above all things. His appointment excited general enthusiasm; the rumor immediately spread in the army that "Kutuzof had come to beat the French." Happy sayings raised his popularity to the skies. Passing his regiments in review, "With such soldiers," he exclaimed, "who would think of beating a retreat?" He ordered, however, a retrograde movement; but "all felt that in retiring they were marching against the French." They recoiled, but only to reinforce themselves, to await the troops that Miloradovitch was to bring them, the Cossacks that Platof was to recruit on the Don, the bearded militia that had risen at the voice of the Tsar, the famous drujina of Moscow, promised by the Governor Rostoptchin.

Kutuzof halted at the village of Borodino. He had then seventy-two thousand infantry, eighteen thousand regular cavalry, seven thousand Cossacks, ten thousand militiamen, and six hundred and forty guns served by fourteen thousand artillerymen or pioneers; in all, one hundred and twenty-one thousand men. Napoleon had been able to concentrate only eighty-six thousand infantry, twenty-eight thousand cavalry, and five hundred and eighty-seven guns, served by sixteen thousand pioneers or artillerymen. This was about equal to the effective force of the Russians; but his army, now tempered by the long march of hundreds of kilometers, was still the most admirable of modern times. On the fifth of September the French took the redoubt of Shevardino; the seventh was the day of the great battle, one of the bloodiest of modern times: this was known as the battle of Borodino among the Russians, while it was called the battle of the Moskova in the bulletins of Napoleon, though the Moskova flows at some distance from the field of carnage.

The front of the Russian army was bounded on the right by the village of Borodino on the Kolotcha: on the centre by the Red Mountain, where rose what the French called the Great Redoubt, and the Russians the Raïevski battery, on the spot where now stands the memorial column; and on the left by three little redoubts or outworks of Bagration's, on the site of the monastery since founded by Madame Tutchkof. Between the Red Mountain and Bagration's outworks ran the ravine of Semenovskoé, with the village of the same name. During the battle Napoleon remained near the redoubt of Shevardino; Kutuzof, at the village of Gorki. Barclay de Tolly commanded on the right: he occupied Borodino, with the forces of Miloradovitch, and Gorki, with those of Dokturof. Bagration commanded the left: he occupied the Red Mountain with the troops of Raïevski and Semenevskoé, and the three redoubts with those of Borodsin. Napoleon had placed Engène, with the army of Italy and the Bavarians,

opposite the great redoubt ; Ney, with Junot and the Würtembergers, opposite the three small ones ; Davoust with the Poles and Saxons, and Murat with his numerous cavalry, were to turn the Russians by their left. On the extreme right Poniatovski was to clear the woods of Utitsa. In the rear the division of Friant and the guard formed an imposing reserve.

Profound silence reigned in the Russian camp on the eve of the battle ; religious fervor and patriotic fire inflamed all hearts ; they passed the night confessing and communicating ; they put on white shirts as if for a wedding. In the morning one hundred thousand men, on their knees, were blessed and sprinkled with holy water by the priests ; the wonder-working Virgin of Vladimir was carried in procession round the front of the troops, in the midst of sobs and enthusiasm ; an eagle hovered over the head of Kutuzof, and a loud “ hurrah ” saluted this happy omen. The battle began by a terrible cannonade of twelve hundred guns, which was heard one hundred kilometers around. Then the French, with an irresistible charge, took Borodino on one side, and the redoubts on the other ; Ney and Murat crossed the ravine of Semenovskoé, and cut the Russian army nearly in two. At ten o'clock the battle seemed won, but Napoleon refused to carry out his first success by employing the reserve, and the Russian generals had time to bring up new troops in line. They recaptured the great redoubt, and Platof, the Cossack, made a sudden attack on the rear of the Italian army ; a stubborn fight took place at the outworks. At last Napoleon made his reserve troops advance ; again Murat’s cavalry swept the ravine ; Caulaincourt’s cuirassiers assaulted the great redoubt from behind, and flung themselves on it like a tempest, while Eugène of Italy scaled the ramparts. Again the Russians lost their outworks. Then Kutuzof gave the signal to retreat, and collected his troops on Psarévo. Napoleon refused to hazard his last reserves against these desperate men, and to

“have his guard demolished.” He contented himself with crushing them with artillery until night. The French lost thirty thousand men, the Russians forty thousand; the former had forty-nine generals and thirty-seven colonels killed and wounded, the Russians almost as many, and they numbered Bagration, Count Kutaisof, and the two Tutchkof brothers, among their dead. Napoleon still concentrated one hundred thousand men in his immediate vicinity, Kutuzof only fifty thousand; but Napoleon’s losses were irreparable at this distance; the Grand Army was condemned to gain nothing by its victories. The novelist Tolstoi uses this expression, “The beast is mortally wounded.” “Napoleon,” says Brandt, the Pole, “had gained the victory, but at what a price! The great redoubt and its surroundings offered a spectacle which surpassed the worst horrors that could be dreamed of. The ditches, the fosses, the very interior of the outwork, was buried beneath an artificial hill of dead or dying, six or eight men deep, heaped one upon the other.” Alexander, in spite of this defeat, named Kutuzof field-marshal, and in the churches solemn services were performed as though a success had been obtained.

Kutuzof retired in good order, announcing to Alexander that they had made a steady resistance, but were retreating to protect Moscow. He called a council of war at Fily, on one of the hills which overhang Moscow; and the sight of the great and holy city extended at their feet, condemned perhaps to perish, caused inexpressible emotion to the Russian generals. The only question was this, Was it necessary to sacrifice the last army of Russia in order to save Moscow? Barclay declared that “when it became a matter of the salvation of Russia and of Europe, Moscow was only a city like any other.” Others said, like the artillery officer Grabbe, “It would be glorious to die under Moscow, but it is not a question of glory.” “But,” said Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, “many feel that they are held by honor to stop all retrograde

movements: just as the tomb is the end of man's journey on earth, so Moscow ought to be the goal, the tomb of the Russian warrior; beyond it another world already begins." Bennigsen, Iermolof, and Ostermann were in favor of a last battle. Kutuzof listened to all, and then said, "Here my head, be it good or bad, must decide for itself," and ordered a retreat beyond the town. Yet he felt that Moscow was not "only a city like any other." He would not enter it, and passed through the suburbs weeping. For the retreat also there were two alternative paths. Barclay advised that of Vladimir, which allowed Saint Petersburg to be covered. Kutuzof preferred that of Riazan, by which he could place himself on Napoleon's right flank, receive reinforcements from the south, and keep the French from the route to the most fertile provinces of the empire. The event proved that he was right.

Up to this time Alexander had raised the militia in only sixteen governments: those of Moscow, Tver, Iaroslavl, Vladimir, Riazan, Tula, Kaluga, and Smolensk were to furnish one hundred and twenty-three thousand men; Saint Petersburg and Novgorod twenty-five thousand. At Tula seven thousand muskets of a new pattern were being manufactured every month. Alexander had said to Michaux, "We will make of Russia a new Spain." The Metropolitan of Moscow and all the priests were calling men to arms against the "impious Frenchman, the bold Goliath," who was to be thrown to the earth by the sling of a new David.

Alexander had appointed Count Rostoptchin Governor of Moscow, and when he left the city he gave him absolute power. This noble, who possessed a Frenchman's wit, was well acquainted with all classes of people, but affected the picturesque language of the peasants, and understood, as he said, "how to throw dust in men's eyes." The patriot Glinka compared him to Napoleon. His correspondence with Semen Vorontsof, his proclamation of eighteen hundred and twelve, his Memoirs written in eighteen hundred and twenty-three,

his pamphlet of the same year, entitled "The Truth about the Burning of Moscow," may be counted amongst the most curious documents of Russian history. "I do everything," he writes to the Emperor, "to gain the good-will of every one. My two visits to the Mother of God at Iberia, the free access of all towards myself, the verification of the weights and measures, fifty blows with a stick applied in my presence to a sub-officer who, when charged with the sale of salt, caused the muzhiki to wait too long, have won me the confidence of your devoted and faithful subjects." "I resolved," he says, "at every disagreeable piece of news to raise doubts as to its truth; by this means I weakened the first impression, and before there was time to verify it others came which needed to be examined." He organized a regular system of spies to watch over the propagators of false news, the Martinists, the Freemasons, and the Liberals. He was jealous of Glinka, who nevertheless admired him, and who in the "Russian Messenger" "unchained the furies of the patriotic war." When Alexander came to Moscow and convoked the three orders at the Kreml, Rostoptchin caused kibitki to be prepared to carry into Siberia any who might ask the Emperor indiscreet questions. These precautions were unnecessary. The nobles gave their peasants, the merchants their money; the reading of the imperial manifesto was received with enthusiasm. "At first," relates Rostoptchin, "they listened with the greatest attention, then they gave some signs of anger and impatience; when they came to the phrase which declared that the enemy came with "flattery on their lips and irons in their hands," the general indignation burst forth. They beat their heads, they tore their hair, they wrung their hands, and tears of rage fell down their faces, which recalled those of the ancients. I saw one man gnashing his teeth." At bottom, the government mistrusted the people, who, being serfs, might allow themselves to be tempted by the proclamations of liberty put forth by the invader. It was for this reason that Rostoptchin placed three



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hundred thousand rubles at the disposal of Glinka, the popular writer. There was no need of the money, and Glinka restored the three hundred thousand rubles.

Rostoptchin invented good news; one day he posted up "Great Victory of Ostermann," another day "Great Victory of Wittgenstein." Sensible men ended by never believing him, but his bulletins had always firm hold on the people. "Fear nothing," he said: "a storm has come; we will dissipate it; the grain will be ground, and become meal. Only beware of drunkards and fools; they have large ears, and whisper ridiculous things one to the other. Some believe that Napoleon comes for our good, while in reality he only thinks of flaying us. He makes the soldiers expect to get the field-marshal's staff, he makes beggars expect mountains of gold, and while they are waiting he takes every one by the collar and sends him to his death. And for this reason I beg you, if any of our countrymen or foreigners begin to praise him, and to promise this or that in his name, seize him, whoever he may be, and take him before the police. As to the culprit, I shall know how to bring him to his senses, were he a giant." "I will answer with my head that the scoundrel does not enter Moscow. And see on what I base my prophecy. . . . If that is not enough, then I shall say, 'Forward, drujina of Moscow! let us also march. And we shall be one hundred thousand men of war. Let us take with us the image of the Mother of God, one hundred and fifty guns, and we shall finish the affair together.'" After Borodino he again puts forth this proclamation: "Brothers, we are many, and ready to sacrifice our lives for the salvation of the country and to prevent that wretch from entering Moscow; but you must help me. Moscow is our mother; she has suckled us, nourished us, enriched us. In the name of the Mother of God I invite you to the defence of the temples of the Lord, of Moscow, of Russia! Arm yourselves in any way you can, on foot or on horseback; take only enough bread for three days, go

with the cross, preceded by the banners that you will take from the churches, and assemble at once on the three mountains. I shall be with you, and together we will exterminate the invaders. Glory in heaven for those who go there ! Eternal peace to those who die ! Punishment in the last judgment to those who draw back !” The majority of the people did not think of the possibility of abandoning the holy city to the enemy without striking a blow. They all armed themselves as best they could. The arsenals were thrown open to them, and with steadfast courage they waited the command to go out against their foe.

Meanwhile forty Frenchmen or foreigners who were settled at Moscow were transferred to Kazan. Domergue, the director of the French theatre at Moscow, describes their sad journey. Rostoptchin made a certain Leppich or Schmidt work secretly at a wonderful balloon, which would cover with fire the whole French army. He removed all the archives and the treasures of the churches and palaces to Vladimir. When the Russian army left Moscow, he also quitted it, after cruelly slaying Vereshchagin, who was accused of having spread Napoleon’s proclamations. He caused the prisons to be opened, took away the fire-engines, and ordered Voronenko to set on fire the stores of brandy, and the boats loaded with alcohol. The burning of Moscow no doubt arose from this. By his own confession it was “an event which he had prepared, but which he was far from executing.” He contented himself with “inflaming the spirits of men.” Already the gates of the capital were crowded with vehicles of all sorts ; every one emigrated who could leave the town.

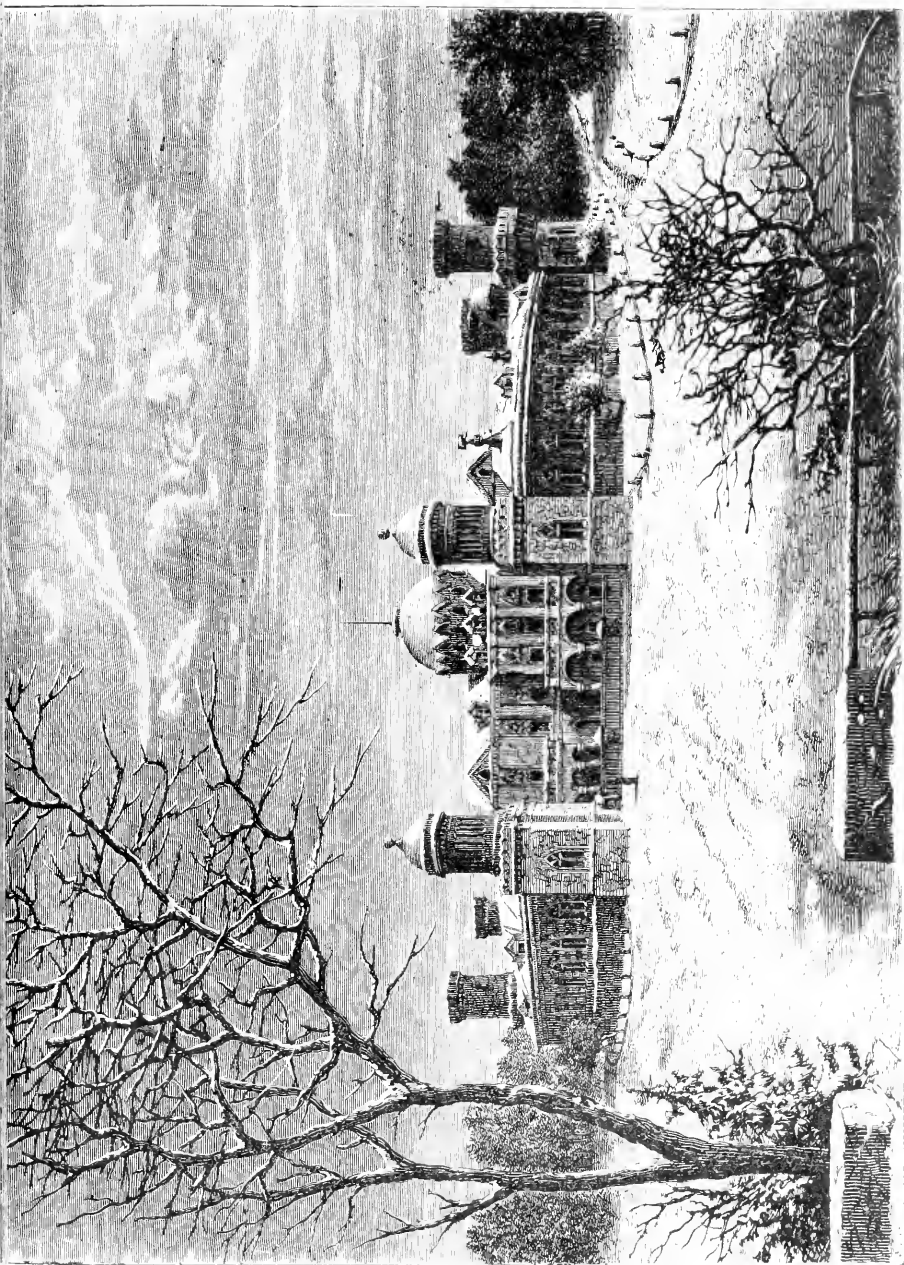
The people who remained at Moscow steadily nursed their illusions. When the first soldiers of the Grand Army appeared, they thought that it was the Swedes or English who had come to their help. The pillage of the deserted houses began, and the populace rivalled the zeal of the invaders. Napoleon arrived, and tried to quell the disorder ; he ap-

pointed Mortier governor of the town. "Above all, no pillage!" he said; "you will answer for it with your head." On September fourteenth, eighteen hundred and twelve, the troops defiled through the streets of Biélui-gorod and Kitaï-gorod, singing the Marseillaise. Napoleon ascended the Red Staircase, and established himself in the ancient palace of the Tsars. Almost immediately the fires broke out in many places. The night of the fifteenth of September was especially terrible. The Kreml itself, with the artillery wagons of the guard, was in danger. Napoleon had to leave it, and force his way through the flames; he almost perished on the road, and finally reached the Petrovski park. The courts-martial condemned about four hundred incendiaries, real or suspected, to death. All was over with the French conquest; only a fifth of the houses and churches remained standing. From that time it was impossible to prevent the plunder of the cellars, and of the buildings which were intact. The German allies were, according to the Muscovites, incomparably more greedy than the true Frenchmen. They deserved the name of "the merciless army," which was given them by the common people who suffered at their hands.

During the thirty-five days that the troops remained at Moscow their disorganization was brought to a climax, and probably ten or twelve thousand men perished from hunger. The troops began to eat the horses. Napoleon, however, got together a company of comedians in the house of Posniakof, held concerts in the Kreml, and sent down the decree from Moscow regulating the Théâtre Français of Paris; but in spite of all this he was a prey to disquietude. The plan of a march to Saint Petersburg on the approach of winter was rejected as impracticable. He sent General Lauriston to offer terms of peace, but all attempts to open negotiations with Alexander were unsuccessful. He thought of declaring himself King of Poland, of re-establishing the principality of Smolensk, and of dismembering Western Russia; he studied papers

relative to the attempt of seventeen hundred and thirty, to see if he could not seduce the nobles by the bait of a constitution, and dreamed of decreeing the liberty of the serfs and of raising the Tatars on the Volga, but he was powerless, without means of action, without news, almost blockaded in Moscow. To the south the way was barred by Kutuzof, who, having led seventy-five thousand men, wearied with long marches and incessant fighting, into his camp of Tarutino, was continually becoming reinforced by volunteers from all parts of the empire. In three weeks his army had increased by more than thirty thousand. The Ataman of the Don Cossacks, Platof, enrolled twenty-six regiments and came to his aid. As the result of the victorious battle which Kutuzof fought with Murat near the village of Vinkovo, on the eighteenth of October, the road to Riazan was shut; by the battle of Malo-Iaroslavets on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of October, the way to Kaluga was blocked, leaving free only the road to Smolensk, which had been laid waste. Even this was no longer safe. The war of guerillas, the war of peasants, the Cossack war, had begun. Herasim Kurin, a peasant of the village of Pavlovo, assembled fifty-eight hundred men "to fight for the country and the holy temple of the mother of God against an enemy who threatened to burn all the villages, and to take the skin off all the inhabitants."

The muzhiki fell on foraging parties and marauders; they killed them by blows with pitchforks; they hung them; they drowned them. Wilson the Englishman relates that they buried men alive. In the single district of Borovsk thirty-five hundred soldiers were killed or taken. The guerilla chiefs, Figner, Seslavin, Davuidof, Benkendorf, and Prince Kurakin, captured the provision wagons on the road to Smolensk. Dorokhof, with a band of twenty-five hundred men and a party of Cossacks, took Verca by assault. The peasant Vasilisa and Sudaruina Nadezhda Durova gave warlike



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examples to the Russian women. Cossacks already appeared disguised in Moscow.

On the thirteenth of October, in the first snow, Napoleon made the ambulances and the first convoys quit Moscow. From the eighteenth to the twenty-third, ninety thousand combatants left the city. They took with them six hundred guns, two thousand artillery wagons, and fifty thousand non-combatants, — invalids, workmen, women, and inhabitants of the town who feared the first excesses of the Cossacks. Mortier was the last to leave Moscow, after having sprung mines under the Kreml. Elisabeth's palace was blown up; the gate of the Saviour, that of the Trinity, and the tower of Ivan the Great were cracked by the explosions; there were many gaps in the Kreml walls. It was a cruel, useless revenge, which was likely to call down horrible reprisals on the wounded, of whom twelve hundred were left behind.

The only road to Smolensk was opened by the battle of Viasma on the third of November, where Ney and Eugène, cut off from Davoust by Miloradovitch, defeated forty thousand Russians, but themselves lost several thousand men. Until the sixth and seventh of November the cold was endurable, but the snow and ice made the roads almost impassable for the horses. The Emperor himself reached Smolensk on the ninth, but it was several days before the whole army was reunited. At Smolensk they found the shops plundered and deserted. The orders which Napoleon had given for collecting provisions had been neglected. Hunger and the terrible cold began to decimate the remains of the Grand Army. Marshal Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, left Smolensk on the seventeenth, blowing up the walls and towers. The appearance of Platof's Cossacks alone saved the rest of the city. At Krasnoé Napoleon was obliged to return with the guard to the assistance of Davoust, who was in great danger of being cut off. Ney was reduced to such extremities that he was believed to be entirely lost, but on the nineteenth of Novem-

ber, having given battle to sixty thousand Russians with a body of only six thousand fighting men and as many stragglers, he crossed the Dnieper on the ice and unexpectedly joined the rest of the army at Orsha. From Smolensk to Krasnoé twenty-six thousand stragglers and wounded, two hundred and eight cannon, and five thousand carriages fell into the hands of Kutuzof.

Zherkievitch, in his "Memoirs," tells us how the old general, who had collected all these trophies almost without a blow, triumphed in his success. They brought him a French flag, where amidst the names of immortal battles he read that of Austerlitz. "What have we there?" he asked. "Austerlitz! It is true it was hot work at Austerlitz. But I wash my hands of it before the whole army. They are innocent of Austerlitz." Again at the camp of the Semenovski, one of his officers exclaimed, "Hurrah for the Savior of Russia!" "No," said Kutuzof; "listen, my friends! It is not to me that the honor belongs, but to the Russian soldier." And, throwing his cap into the air, he cried with all his strength, "Hurrah! hurrah for the brave Russian soldier!" Then, made communicative by the joy of success, he said to his officers, "Where will the son of a dog lie this night? I know already that he will not sleep quietly at Liadui: Seslavin has given me his word of honor. Listen, gentlemen, to a pretty fable that Krnilof the good story-teller has sent me. A wolf entered into a kennel and tormented the dogs. As to his entrance, he had managed that very well; but it was quite another affair to get out! All the dogs were after him, and he was driven into a corner with his hairs standing on end, and saying, 'What is the matter, my friends? What is your grievance against me? I came simply to see what you were doing, and now I am going away.' The huntsman by this time had hastened to the spot, and replied, 'No, friend Wolf, you will not impose upon us! It is true you are an old rascal with gray hair, but I am also gray, and not more stupid

than you.'” And, taking off his cap and showing his gray locks, Kutuzof continued, “ You shall not go as you have come, for I have set my dogs at your heels.”

The situation of the French army was critical. In the north, Saint Cyr, after a bloody battle at Polotsk on the nineteenth of October, evacuated the line of the Dwina. Maedonald was therefore left without support, expecting the desertion of some of his Prussians. In the south, Schwartzenberg had retreated on Warsaw, being more occupied with Poland than with the safety of Napoleon. Thus, Wittgenstein on the north, and Tchitchagof on the south, could hang on the flanks of the Grand Army ; both hoped to come up with it at the passage of the Berezina, and to enclose it between themselves and Kutuzof. Kutuzof himself reckoned on this, and restrained the ardor of the most impatient of the Cossacks, and of Wilson the Englishman, who said, “ What a shame to let all these ghosts roam from their graves ! ” They all believed that a breath would scatter what had been the Grand Army, but Kutuzof would not hazard what he had gained in a battle ; he left it to time, to hunger, and to winter. The cold was destined to reach twenty-six degrees. A witty Russian said that the French were conquered in this retreat by Marshal Morozof, corresponding to our General Jack Frost.

In spite of Kutuzof, in spite of Wittgenstein, in spite of Tchitchagof, the ice, and the breaking down of the bridges, the French army crossed the Berezina near Studianka from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-ninth of November. The world knows what a price the passage cost, but still it was a great success, a victory of the desperate. Surrounded by one hundred and forty thousand Russians, these forty thousand men with the Emperor managed to cross. A third of them were Poles. They continued their journey. Arriving at Smorgoni on the fifth of December, Napoleon, accompanied by only Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Mouton, quitted the army to hasten to Paris, leaving the command to Murat. Three days later the

army reached Vilna, where some months previously splendid fêtes had received the restorer of Poland, the liberator of Lithuania. The starving soldiers rushed eagerly into the houses. Suddenly the cannons sounded on three sides : it was the three Russian armies which had come up. Ney, with his four thousand "braves," protected the flight of this tumultuous crowd. After his departure there happened in Vilna a scene more frightful, perhaps, than the passage of the Berezina. The city was filled with sick and wounded French ; nearly every house was crowded with them. The Jews, who were very numerous in this town, through fear of the Russians and hatred of the French and Polish conscriptions, threw these unhappy wretches out of the windows. The Jewish women could easily kick to death the men who had only lately taken the bridge of Friedland or the great redoubt of Borodino. The Cossacks, first to enter the town, fell furiously upon the defenceless camp-followers, on the women and the sutlers. Then a frightful carnage took place. Thirty thousand corpses were burned on piles. The remains of the army, always protected by the intrepid Ney, at last recrossed the Niemen. They left behind them three hundred and thirty thousand French and allies, dead or prisoners.

CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANY AND FRANCE: TREATIES OF PARIS AND VIENNA.

After the extinction of the Grand Army, Kutuzof and the Chancellor Rumiantsof were agreed not to tempt fortune, but simply to take the eastern provinces of Prussia and Poland, to make the Vistula the frontier of Russia, and to conclude a peace with Napoleon.

"But," says M. Bogdanovitch, "they did not reflect that Napoleon could easily repair his losses, thanks to the strong concentration of France in a confined space, to the rapidity with which French conscripts were taught, to the great supplies of war material, and to the vast financial resources. We,

on the contrary, had to assemble our recruits over immense spaces, and our finances were in great disorder. Consequences proved that even with the help of Prussia, then exerting all its strength, we could not make head against Napoleon in the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. What, then, would have happened if the Prussians, irritated at our pretensions, had allied themselves with France? Obviously Napoleon, reinforced by Prussian armies and the Polish contingents, would have reappeared on the Dwina, and, profiting by the lesson of eighteen hundred and twelve, would have acted with more precaution and perhaps with more success." Alexander, therefore, resolved to find in the nations which were said to be oppressed by Napoleon the forces necessary to vanquish him, to make the security of Russia rest on the "liberation" of the whole of Europe; and following the example of Napoleon, who had provoked a general movement from West to East against Russia, to raise the nations from East to West against France. The burning of his palace and his capital rendered him inaccessible to all proposals of peace; Stein and the other German refugees did not allow him to forget his vengeance.

While the Russian troops were invading Poland, and giving battle to the remnants of the Grand Army at Elbing and Kalish; while Tchartoruiski was entreating the Tsar to re-establish Poland, under the sceptre of the Grand Duke Mikhail, Alexander opened negotiations with Prussia. Frederick William negotiated at once both with him and Napoleon. He disavowed General York of Wartenburg, whose defection from the French at Tauroggen had given the signal for the Germanic movement, and who was raising Eastern Prussia. He sent, however, Knesebeck, disguised as a merchant, to the headquarters of the Tsar. Alexander in his turn sent him Stein and Anslett, who induced him to sign the Treaty of Kalish on February twenty-eighth, eighteen hundred and thirteen, by which the two princes formed an offensive

and defensive alliance, "for the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy within limits which may assure the tranquillity of the two States." Russia furnished one hundred and fifty thousand men, Prussia eighty thousand; they were not to treat with Napoleon except in concert, and Russia was to try to obtain for Prussia a subsidy from England. It was only on the seventeenth of March, when Wittgenstein had made his entry into Berlin, that the King of Prussia declared war against Napoleon, and put forth proclamations "To my people! to my army!" On the nineteenth of March, when Blücher entered Saxony, the two princes concluded the convention of Breslau: they decided to summon all the princes and all the people of Germany to hasten to set free their common country; the princes who refused within a specified time were to be deprived of their territories. The Confederation of the Rhine was broken up: a central council of government was created to administer the countries which were to be reconquered, from Saxony to Holland, to collect the revenues assigned from that time to the allied Powers, and everywhere to organize levies.

Meanwhile Napoleon had been displaying his usual activity; he had set on foot four hundred and fifty thousand men with more than twelve hundred cannon; his good cities of Paris, Lyons, Rome, Amsterdam, and Hamburg had made him patriotic presents of thousands of horses. The Confederation of the Rhine, with the exception of Saxony, which was at that time being invaded, prepared contingents. It was with one hundred and eighty thousand men and three hundred and fifty guns that Napoleon reappeared on the line of the Elbe, and he might well count on crossing it, for in his strong places on the Vistula and the Oder — Dantzic, Thorn, Polotsk, Modlin, Küstrin, Glogau, Stettin, and Stralsund — he had left garrisons amounting to nearly an equal number. The weak point of this new army was the great number of conscripts, the youth of the soldiers, and the feebleness of the cavalry. The

veterans, the innumerable squadrons of Murat, were buried beneath the snows of Russia.

On the second of May, at the city of Lützen, and on the twentieth of May at Bantzen, Napoleon gained two hard-fought and brilliant victories over the allied kings who were present, but he captured neither cannon nor prisoners, nor could he pursue the vanquished for want of cavalry. He entered Dresden, and re-established his ally the King of Saxony; even Silesia was reduced to subjection. In the north Davoust recaptured Hamburg and Lübeck, which an insurrection had lost to the French; the guerillas who had shown themselves in Westphalia and Hanover were driven back.

The King of Prussia was singularly discouraged. Never able to put aside the recollections of eighteen hundred and six, he remarked after Lützen, "It is just as it was at Auerstadt." "The loss of these two battles," says M. Bogdanovitch, "loosened the bonds of the alliance. The Prussian generals complained that their country was ravaged by the Russians as well as by the French. The ideas of Barclay de Tolly and most of the Russian leaders did not agree with those of Blücher and his officers. In proportion as the Russians increased the distance from their country, did they find it difficult to get ammunition, and even food. In all the space included between the Elbe and the Vistula there were as yet no store-houses. The soldiers were badly clothed and badly shod. The habitual discipline of the troops was becoming lax. The condition of the Prussian army was no better." Alexander and especially the King of Prussia had reason to say to themselves that they were playing for heavy stakes.

In June the Emperor Francis interfered and persuaded his son-in-law to sign the armistice of Pleischwitz, of which Napoleon said, "If the allies do not really wish for peace, this truce may be fatal to us." During this time the Russian army was in fact reinforced and reorganized; Prussia created its Landwehr; the two powers concluded their trea-

ties with England ; the Prince of Sweden became a member of the Coalition, being attracted by the promise of Norway ; Moreau, another Frenchman, brought his talents to the help of the allies ; Dantzic, Stettin, Küstrin, and Glogau were besieged. A piece of exciting news reached Germany. Wellington had gained the battle of Vittoria on June twenty-first, Spain was lost to Napoleon, and the English threatened to cross the Bidassoa into France itself. As to Austria, its tendency to defection showed itself more and more ; after Lützen, Stadion had been sent to Alexander, and at the same time Bubna to Napoleon. Negotiations were prolonged, and Napoleon, discontented with the state of affairs, tried in vain to approach Alexander ; Caulaincourt was not received.

Austria at last transmitted to Napoleon the conditions of the allies, which were : the destruction of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the partition of Poland between the three courts of the North ; the re-establishment of Prussia, as far as possible, within the limits of eighteen hundred and five ; restitution to Austria of its Illyrian provinces, together with Trieste ; restoration of the Hanse Towns ; and the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, though the latter was not made an absolute condition. Napoleon manifested the most lively irritation ; he had the celebrated interview with Prince Metternich in Dresden, in which he even charged him with accepting bribes from England ; nevertheless, he consented that a congress should assemble at Prague to discuss the conditions. How unimportant he considered the congress, however, is seen from the fact that he sent Caulaincourt without authority, and with the simple instruction to wait for Count Narbonne, who arrived only a few days before the truce had expired. To punish Austria's disloyalty, he determined that "not one single village" should be ceded to it ; with Russia he wished for a glorious peace, but on the condition that their possessions should be the same as before the war. Pretensions so opposite could not be reconciled, and

the allies increased their claims still further, by demanding that the Italian provinces should be restored to Austria, and Holland abandoned. When Napoleon, on the fifteenth of August, eighteen hundred and thirteen, finally consented to sacrifice the grand duchy of Warsaw and the Illyrian provinces, Austria declared that it was too late, and that it had entered into the Coalition.

The allies had now three armies in Germany: that of the North, under Bernadotte, encamped on the Havel, with one hundred and thirty thousand Russians, Swedes, and Prussians; that of Silesia, under Blücher, posted on the Oder, numbering two hundred thousand Russians and Prussians; that of Bohemia, under Schwartzenberg, consisting of one hundred and thirty thousand Austrians and Russians, which had taken up its position in the neighborhood of Prague. Thus of the three commanders-in-chief not one was Russian. The Grand Duke Konstantin, Barclay, Ostermann, and Iermolof served under Schwartzenberg, Sacken under Blücher, and Wintzingerode under Bernadotte. The old Kutuzof had left the army and died at Buntzlau during the summer campaign.

On the other hand, the Emperor of Russia, before whom the pale sovereigns of Austria and Prussia were eclipsed, seemed to direct the armies and the diplomacy of the Coalition. It was he who to the end was to be the firmest against Napoleon, the most thoroughly convinced of the necessity of his downfall, and who, after having transported the war from Russia to Germany, would transport it from Germany to France.

To all these forces Napoleon opposed the thirty thousand men of Davoust who occupied Hamburg, seventy thousand under Oudinot at Wittenberg, and the one hundred and eighty thousand which he had concentrated under his own command from Dresden to Liegnitz, with Vandamme, Saint Cyr, Ney, Macdonald, Mortier, and Murat. He fought a

great battle with the army of Bohemia in the very suburbs of Dresden, on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of August, in which the latter was forced to fall back in disorder on Bohemia, with the loss of forty thousand men and two hundred guns. The allies henceforth resolved to avoid all encounters with Napoleon, and to fight his lieutenants only.

Napoleon had posted Vandamme, with twenty-five thousand men, in the defiles of Peterswald, to bar the way to the fugitives, and in the events which followed forgot to recall him. Vandamme descended as far as Töplitz, to cut off the allies, but on the twenty-ninth he came up with the Russian guard, which made a desperate resistance; even the musicians, the drummers, and the clerks demanded muskets. Ostermann lost six hundred men, and was so severely wounded in one arm that it had to be amputated. Vandamme, still without orders, retreated to Kulm. He there found himself attacked and surrounded by forces four times as numerous as his own, and on the thirtieth of August was taken with more than half of his corps. Kulm was almost entirely a Russian victory, due above all to Barclay, Ostermann, and Iermolof. It cost dear, for the Russians lost six thousand men, twenty-eight hundred of whom belonged to the guard. In his joy Alexander covered the Preobrazhenski, the Ismailovski, the sailors, and the chasseurs of the guard with decorations, and caused Saint George's cross to be attached to their standards. The Coalition had at last gained a success which did much to encourage the army after the terrible defeat at the Saxon capital. About the same time Macdonald was defeated by Blücher on the Katzbach, Oudinot at Gross-Beeren, and Ney at Dennewitz, by Bernadotte. At the battle of Dennewitz the French lost fifteen thousand men and eighty cannon; it also cost the Prussians dear. The Cossacks threw themselves into Westphalia, and Tchernishef took Cassel and the archives of King Jerome.

From that time the three armies pressed in a closer circle



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around Napoleon. Bannigsen had just brought the Russian army a reinforcement of sixty thousand men. The French army, reduced to one hundred and sixty thousand men, found itself face to face with three hundred thousand allies and twelve hundred guns, which formed a half-circle round it, and left free only the way to the West. Then Napoleon, whose army divisions were stationed at each gate of Leipzig, so as to command all the roads, fought the celebrated "battle of nations," which lasted four days. Alexander showed great personal bravery, remaining almost under the fire of the French batteries, and hastening the arrival of reinforcements on the most threatened places. On the sixteenth of October the French still maintained their position, on the seventeenth the two armies watched each other, and meanwhile the allies reached their maximum of concentration. On the eighteenth the battle began with renewed fury: the cannonade was more terrible than that of Borodino, says Miloradovitch; it was on this day that thirty-five hundred Saxons deserted. On the nineteenth the French army began to retreat towards the west, Victor and Augereau at the head; Ney, Marmont, the guard, and Napoleon in the centre, while Lauriston, Macdonald, and Poniatovski formed the rear-guard, which was destroyed by the premature explosion of the one narrow bridge over the Elster. Macdonald saved himself by swimming; Lauriston was captured with thirty thousand men and one hundred and fifty guns; Poniatovski was drowned. With him perished the hope of the regeneration of Poland by the hand of Napoleon: intrepid, disinterested, and patriotic, Poniatovski did not care for the staff of a marshal of France; he wished only to remain "the chief of the Poles."

The Prussians, who detested Saxony, were anxious to take the town of Leipzig by assault. Alexander was obliged to interfere, and managed to negotiate a capitulation with the remains of the French troops. As to the King of Saxony, a prisoner in his own palace, Alexander received him coldly;

he refused to treat with him under the pretext that he had rejected the appeal made by the Coalition to the German princes, and had persisted in his devotion to Napoleon. Perhaps he also wished to punish in him the last Saxon prince who had reigned over Poland. We shall see, besides, that the schemes of Alexander with regard to this part of Europe did not allow him to hold out any hopes to the King of Saxony.

The battle of Leipzig was the overthrow of the French rule in Germany; there remained, as evidence of what they had lost, only one hundred and fifty thousand men, as garrisons scattered among the fortresses of the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. Each success of the allies had been marked by the desertion of one of the peoples that had furnished its contingent to the Grand Army of eighteen hundred and twelve: after Prussia, Austria; at Leipzig the Saxons; the French had not been able to regain the Rhine except by passing over the bodies of the Bavarians at Hanau. Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse, and Darmstadt declared their defection at nearly the same time; the sovereigns were still hesitating whether to separate themselves from Napoleon, when their people and regiments, worked upon by the German patriots, had already passed into the allied camp. Jerome Bonaparte again quitted Cassel; Denmark found itself forced to adhere to the Coalition.

Napoleon had retired to the left bank of the Rhine. Would Alexander cross this natural frontier of revolutionary France? "Convinced," says M. Bogdanovitch, "by the experience of many years, that neither losses inflicted on Napoleon, nor treaties concluded with him, could check his insatiable ambition, Alexander was not willing simply to set free the involuntary allies of France, but he resolved to pursue the war till he had overthrown his enemy." The allied sovereigns came together again at Frankfort, and an immediate march to Paris was discussed. Alexander, Stein,

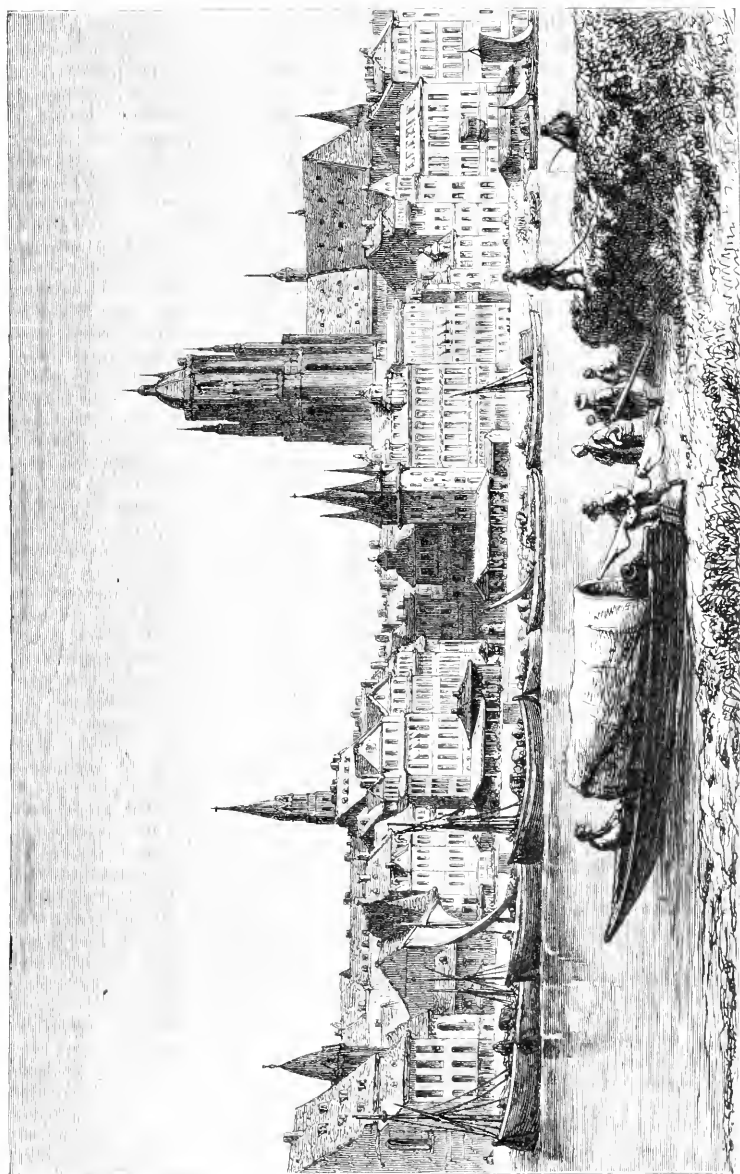
Blücher, Gneisenau, and all the Prussians were on the side of decisive action. The Emperor Francis and Metternich desired Napoleon to be only weakened, as his downfall would expose Austria to another danger, the preponderance of Russia on the Continent. Bernadotte insisted on Napoleon's dethronement, with the ridiculous design of appropriating the crown of France, traitor as he was to its cause. England would have preferred a solid and immediate peace to a war which would demand exhausting subsidies, and increase its already enormous debt. These divergences, these hesitations, gave Napoleon time to strengthen his position. After Hanau, in the opinion of Ney, "the allies might have counted their stages to Paris."

Napoleon then reopened the negotiations. The relinquishment of Italy, though Murat on his side was negotiating for the preservation of his kingdom of Naples, the relinquishment of Holland, of Germany, and of Spain, and the confinement of France between its natural boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps, — such were the "Conditions of Frankfort." Napoleon sent an answer to Metternich, "that he consented to the opening of a congress at Mannheim; that the conclusion of a peace which would insure the independence both on land and sea, of all the nations of the earth, had always been the aim of his policy and of his desires." This reply seems evasive, but could the proposals of the allies have been serious? Encouraged by disloyal Frenchmen, they published the declaration of Frankfort, by which they affirmed "that they did not make war with France, but against the preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, Napoleon had too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." Deceitful assurance, too obvious snare, which could take in only a nation weary of war, enervated by twenty-two years of sterile victories, and at the end of its resources! During this time Alexander, with the deputies of the Helvetic Diet summoned at Frankfort, was discussing the basis of a new Swiss Confederation.

Holland was already raised by the partisans of the house of Orange, and entered by the Prussians. The campaign of France now began.

Alexander issued at Freiburg a proclamation to his troops : "Your heroism has led you from the banks of the Oka to those of the Rhine ; it will conduct you still farther ; we will cross the Rhine, we will penetrate to the territory of the people against whom we have sustained such a fierce and bloody struggle. Already we have saved and glorified our country ; we have given back to Europe its liberty and its independence. O that peace and tranquillity may reign over the whole earth ! that each State may prosper under its own government and its own laws ! By invading our empire, the enemy has done us much harm, and has therefore been subjected to a terrible chastisement. The anger of God has overthrown him. Do not let us imitate him. The merciful God does not love cruel and inhuman men. Let us forget the evil he has wrought ; let us carry to our foes, not vengeance and hate, but friendship, and a hand extended in peace. The glory of Russia is to hurl its armed foe to the earth, but to load with benefits its disarmed enemy and the peaceful populations." He refused to receive Caulaincourt at Freiburg, declaring that he would treat only in France. "Let us spare the French negotiator the trouble of the journey," he said to Metternich. "It does not seem to me a matter of indifference to the allied sovereigns, whether the peace with France is signed on this side of the Rhine, or on the other, in the very heart of France. Such an historical event is well worth a change of quarters."

Without counting the armies of Italy and the Pyrenees, Napoleon had now a mere handful of troops, eighty thousand men, spread from Nimeguen to Bâle, to resist five hundred thousand allies. The army of the North under Wintzingerode invaded Holland, Belgium, and the Rhenish provinces ; the army of Silesia under Blücher crossed the Rhine between



FRANKFORT

Mannheim and Coblenz, and entered Nancy; the army of Bohemia under Schwartzberg passed through Switzerland, and advanced on Troyes, where the Royalists demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon was still able to bar for some time the way to his capital. He first attacked the army of Silesia; he defeated the vanguard, the Russians of Sacken, at Saint Didier, and Blücher at Brienne; but at La Rothière he encountered the formidable masses of the Silesian and Bohemian armies, and after a fierce battle on the first of February, eighteen hundred and fourteen, had to fall back on Troyes. After this victory had secured their junction, the two armies separated again, the one to go down the Marne, the other the Seine, with the intention of reuniting at Paris. Napoleon profited by this mistake. He threw himself on the left flank of the army of Silesia, near Champeaubert, where he dispersed the troops of Olsufief and Poltaratski, inflicted on them a loss of twenty-five hundred men, and took the generals prisoners. At Montmirail, on the eleventh of February, in spite of the heroism of Zigrot and Lapukhin, he defeated Sacken; the Russians alone lost twenty-eight hundred men and five guns. At Château Thierry he defeated Sacken and York reunited, and again the Russians lost fifteen hundred men and five guns. At Vauchamp it was Blücher's turn, who lost two thousand Russians, four thousand Prussians, and fifteen guns. The army of Silesia was in terrible disorder. Bogdanovitch describes how "the peasants, exasperated by the disorder inseparable from a retreat, and excited by exaggerated rumors of French successes, took up arms, and refused supplies. The soldiers suffered both from cold and hunger, Champagne affording no wood for bivouac fires. When the weather became milder, their shoes wore out, and the men, obliged to make forced marches with bare feet, were carried by hundreds into the hospitals of the country."

Whilst the army of Silesia was retreating in disorder on the army of the North, Napoleon, with fifty thousand soldiers full

of enthusiasm, turned on that of Bohemia, crushed the Bavarians and Russians at Mormans, the Würtembergers at Montereau, the Prussians at Méry: these Prussians made part of the army of Blücher, who had detached a corps to hang on the rear of Napoleon. This campaign made a profound impression on the allies. Castlereagh expressed, in Alexander's presence, the opinion that peace should be made before they were driven across the Rhine. The military chiefs began to feel uneasy. Sesslavin sent news from Joigny that Napoleon had one hundred and eighty thousand men at Troyes. A general insurrection of the eastern provinces was expected in the rear of the allies.

It was the firmness of Alexander which maintained the Coalition, it was the military energy of Blücher which saved it. Soon after his disasters he received reinforcements from the army of the North, and took the offensive against the marshals; then, hearing of the arrival of Napoleon at La Ferté Gaucher, he retreated in great haste, finding an unexpected refuge at Soissons, which had just been taken by the army of the North. At Craonne, on March seventh, and at Laon from the tenth to the twelfth of March, with one hundred thousand men against thirty thousand, and with strong positions, he managed to repulse all the attacks of Napoleon. At Craonne, however, which was one of the fiercest battles of the whole army, the Russian loss amounted to five thousand men, the third of their effective force; Lanskoï and Ushakof were killed, and four other generals were wounded. The battle of Laon cost them four thousand men. Meanwhile De Saint Priest, a general in Alexander's service, had taken Rheims by assault on the thirteenth of March, but was dislodged by Napoleon after a fierce struggle, where the émigré commander was badly wounded, and four thousand of his men were killed.

The Congress of Châtillon-sur-Seine was opened on the fifth of February. Russia was represented by Razumovski and

Nesselrode, Napoleon by Caulaincourt, Austria by Stadion and Metternich. The conditions proposed to Napoleon were the reduction of France to its frontiers of seventeen hundred and ninety-two, and the right of the allies to dispose of the reconquered countries without reference to him. Germany was to be a confederation of independent Provinces, Italy to be divided into free States, Spain to be restored to Ferdinand, and Holland to the house of Orange. "Leave France smaller than I found it? Never!" said Napoleon. Alexander and the Prussians would not hear of a peace which left Napoleon on the throne. Still, however, they negotiated. Austria and England were both agreed not to push him to extremities, and many times proposed to treat. After Napoleon's great success against Blücher, Castlereagh declared for peace. "It would not be a peace," cried the Emperor of Russia; "it would be a truce which would not allow us to disarm one moment. I cannot come four hundred leagues every day to your assistance. No peace, as long as Napoleon is on the throne." Napoleon, in his turn, intoxicated by his success, enjoined Caulaincourt only to treat on the basis of Frankfort, — natural frontiers. After Montereau he forbade him to treat at all without authority. At this time he addressed a letter to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, trying to make him ashamed of his alliance with the "Tatars of the desert, who scarcely deserve the name of men," and tempting him by the offer of a separate and advantageous peace. He afterwards again permitted Caulaincourt to treat, but only on the basis of Frankfort. Caulaincourt likewise demanded that Eugène should be maintained in Italy, Elisa Borghese at Lucca, the sons of Louis Napoleon at Berg, and the King of Saxony at Warsaw. These conditions proved unacceptable; and, as fortune returned to the allies, the congress was dissolved on the nineteenth of March. The Bourbon princes were already in France; Louis the Eighteenth was on the point of being proclaimed at Bordeaux.

Alexander, tired of seeing the armies of Bohemia and Silesia fly in turn before thirty or forty thousand French, caused the allies to adopt the fatal plan of a march on Paris, which was executed in eight days. Blücher and Schwartzenberg united, with two hundred thousand men, were to bear down all opposition on their passage. The first act in the drama was on the twentieth, at the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, where both armies suffered great loss in men, but neither could claim a decisive victory, though the Russians took six guns from Napoleon. The latter conceived a bold scheme, which perhaps might have saved him if Paris could have resisted, but which was his ruin. He threw himself on the rear of the allied army, abandoning to them the route to Paris, but reckoning on raising Eastern France, and cutting off their retreat to the Rhine. The allies, uneasy for one moment, were reassured by an intercepted letter of Napoleon to the Empress, and by the letters of the Parisian royalists, which revealed to them the weakness of the capital. "Dare all!" writes Talleyrand to them. They, in their turn, deceived Napoleon by causing him to be followed by a troop of cavalry, about ten thousand in number, continued their march, defeated Marmont and Mortier, crushed the National Guards of Pauthod in the battle of La Fère-Champenoise, and arrived in sight of Paris.

Barclay de Tolly, forming the centre, first attacked the plateau of Romainville, defended by Marmont; on his left, the Prince of Würtemberg threatened Vincennes; and on his right, Blücher deployed before Montmartre, which was defended by Mortier. The heights of Chaumont and those of Montmartre, which were not defended by a single battery, were taken; Marmont and Mortier with Monecy were thrown back on the ramparts. Marmont obtained an armistice from Colonel Orlof, to treat for the capitulation of Paris. King Joseph, the Empress Marie-Louise, and all the imperial government, with an escort of three thousand of the best troops,

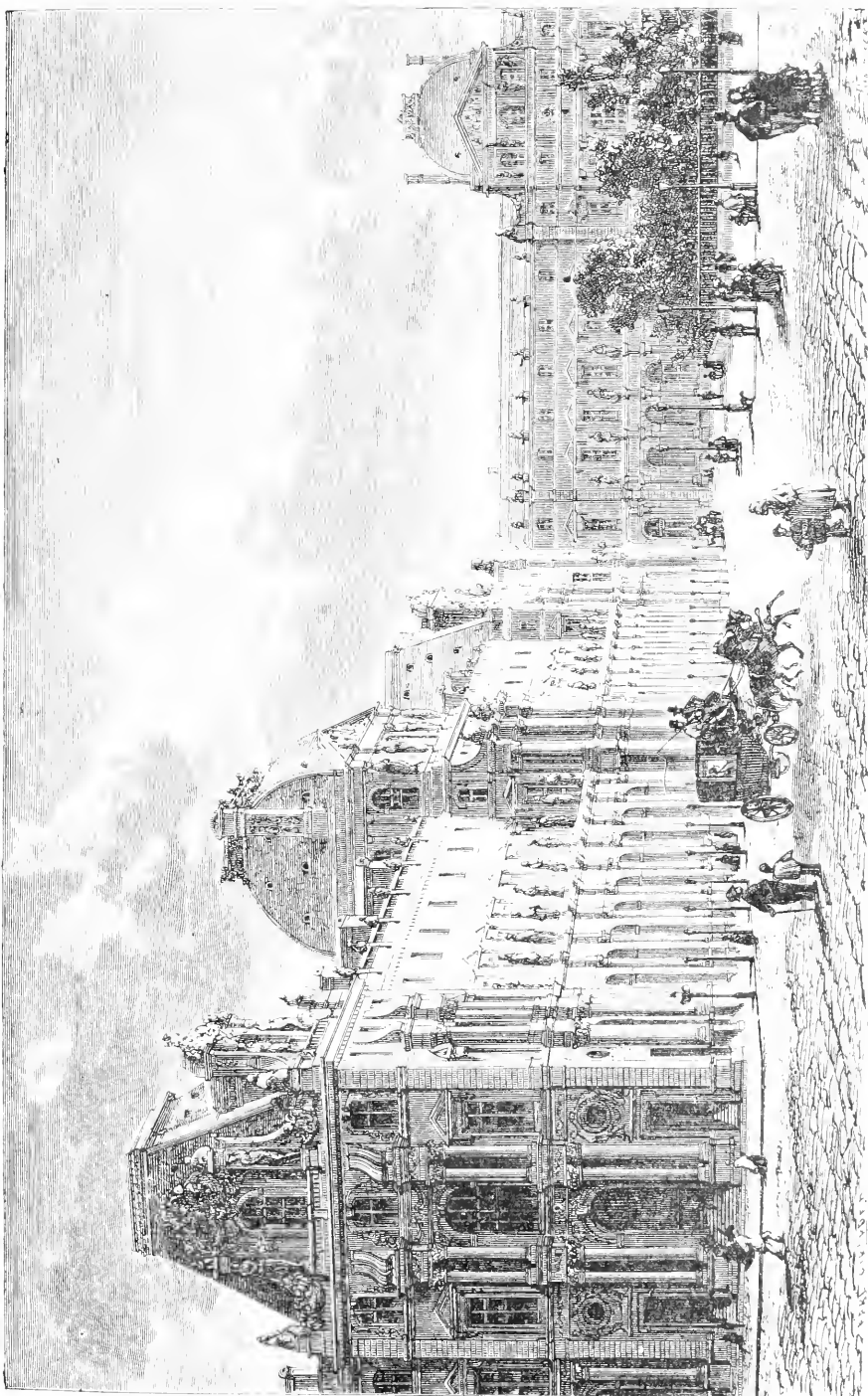
had already fled to the Loire. Paris was recommended "to the generosity of the allied monarch"; the army could retire on the road to Orleans. Such was the battle of Paris on the thirtieth of March, eighteen hundred and fourteen, which, according to M. Bogdanovitch, cost eighty-four hundred men to the allies, and four thousand to the French.

In the morning of the thirty-first Alexander received the deputies of Paris. He promised that the allied armies should behave with the utmost propriety in Paris, that the security of the capital should be confided to the National Guards, and that the inhabitants should be asked for provisions only. He made his entry with gréat pomp between the King of Prussia and Schwartzenberg, the Emperor of Austria being absent at Lyons; but the Parisians had eyes for him only, the one question being, "Which is the Emperor Alexander?" The allied troops maintained a strict discipline, and were not quartered on the inhabitants. Alexander had not come to play the part of a friend to the Bourbons; Napoleon's fiercest enemy was least bitter against the French; he intended to leave them the choice of their government. He had not favored any of the intrigues of the émigrés, and he scornfully remarked to Jomini, "What are the Bourbons to me?" He reproved by a witty speech the baseness of a Royalist: "We have waited for your Majesty a long while." "I should have come earlier if I had not been prevented by the bravery of your soldiers," said Alexander. He sent a detachment of the Semenovski to protect the column of the Grand Army against the attempts of the émigré Maubrenil. He repeated in the senate that he did not make war on France, that he was the friend of the French, and that he would protect the freedom of discussion, which tended to the establishment of liberal and lasting institutions, in accordance with the progress of the century. He yielded when Talleyrand assured him that "the republic was an impossibility, the regency and Bernadotte an intrigue, the Bourbons alone a principle." On the

second of April the senate proclaimed the dethronement of Napoleon; on the eleventh he wrote in almost illegible characters and signed the act of unconditional abdication at Fontainebleau. Alexander had promised Caulaincourt to defend the interests of his old ally of Tilsit; he chiefly contributed to secure him the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba. Count Shuvalof was ordered to accompany the fallen Emperor to this place of exile. "I confide to you," said Alexander, "a great mission; you will answer to me with your head for a single hair which falls from that of Napoleon." He confessed to Caulaincourt that the imbecile conduct of the Royalists did not seem to him less dangerous for the peace of Europe than the unreasonable wars of the Empire.

Every one knows what the French lost by the first Treaty of Paris, in which the boundary of France was reduced to that of the first of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-two. On the third of May, Louis the Eighteenth made his entry into the Louvre. He affected, even with Alexander, the lofty ceremonial of the ancient court; gave him only a chair, while he seated himself on a throne; preceded his guests, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, to the dining-hall, and, seated in the place of honor, caused himself to be helped before them. Alexander paid no attention to these points. Like his ancestor, Peter the Great, he inspected with interest the monuments and great institutions of the capital. It was at Vienna that the destinies of Europe were to be regulated.

At the Congress of Vienna Alexander was represented by Razumovski, Nesselrode, Capo d'Istria, and Stackelberg; he had confided the discussion of Polish affairs to Tchartoruiski and Anslett. On one point he and his ally, the King of Prussia, were agreed; the latter asked only to get rid of his Polish provinces, and Alexander desired to unite the whole of Poland under his own sceptre, and to fulfil the promise he had made to Tchartoruiski and to the gallant remnant of the legions of the Vistula. In exchange, Prussia demanded Saxony, whose



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king was to receive an indemnity elsewhere. We cannot see what interest the Bourbon king could have secured by sacrificing Poland to the King of Saxony, and by opposing a combination which, by establishing this prince on the left bank of the Rhine, would have given France a neighbor infinitely less dangerous than Prussia. Talleyrand, however, used the influence that he had acquired in the congress only to combat the views of Russia and Prussia, and to support the resistance of England and Austria. On the twenty-first of October Alexander took a decisive step: he ordered Prince Replin, Governor of Saxony, to hand over that country to the Prussian government, and to announce its incorporation with the territories of Frederick William the Third. By his orders the Grand Duke Koustantin entered Poland, assembled an army of seventy thousand men, and summoned Poland to the defence of the national integrity. Then Talleyrand, with the consent of Castlereagh, concocted a scheme of alliance between France, Austria, and England. This convention was signed January third, eighteen hundred and fifteen, but remained secret. Discord reigned in the Congress of Vienna: Europe was on the eve of another general war. In one way or another France was bound to regain its place in Europe; but it was a question whether its interests were to be found on the side of England and Austria, now that Razumovski had formally proposed to establish the King of Saxony in its Rhenish provinces.

At last the storm rolled away; Alexander declared that he would content himself with only a part of Poland, and Prussia that it would be satisfied with only a third of Saxony, with seven hundred thousand inhabitants. The other decisions of the Congress of Vienna — the organization of the Germanic Confederation, of Italy, and the kingdoms of the Low Countries — belong to general history. Nevertheless, the formation of Germany into a confederation in which the clients of Russia, the allies of the imperial house, enjoyed an indepen-

dent existence, and a considerable influence on the diet, was far more advantageous to Russian power and security than the state of things resulting from the war of eighteen hundred and seventy. Poland was again divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria: this was the fourth partition. The treaties of Vienna, however, provided that "the Poles, the subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia respectively, should be given a representation and national institutions; whose political existence was to be regulated in the way that the governments to which they each belonged should judge the most suitable." Krakof was pronounced free and independent. In all these treaties Russia gained only three millions of souls belonging to the kingdom of Poland, while Prussia obtained five million three hundred and sixty-two thousand in Western Poland, Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia, and the Rhenish provinces, and Austria ten millions in Galicia, Germany, and Italy. The power which had struck hardest for the "freedom of Europe" was the most poorly recompensed.

The event which had suddenly smoothed the difficulties of the Saxo-Polish conflict, and hastened the signing of the treaties, was the news of the return of Napoleon to Paris. The bad government of the Bourbons had realized Alexander's unfavorable predictions. The sovereigns and plenipotentiaries at Vienna did not hesitate for a moment; Alexander was resolved to pursue the common enemy to his fall, if he had to spend "his last man and his last ruble." Bonaparte's couriers, the bearers of pacific assurances, were arrested on the French frontier, and were prevented from reaching the sovereigns. In vain did Napoleon try to sow mistrust between the allies, and to win over Alexander by sending him a copy of the convention signed between Talleyrand, England, and Austria on the subject of the Saxo-Polish affair. As Albert Sorel says: "The only result of this movement was to irritate Alexander a little more against the Bourbons and Talleyrand. Napoleon did not profit by it, and France suffered." Out of the eight

hundred thousand men that the Coalition had prepared to march against France, the Russian contingent amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand: Barclay de Tolly, field-marshal since the battle of Paris, was commander-in-chief; under him were Dokturof, Raievski, Sacken, Langeron, Sabanéef, Iermolof, Wintzingerode, and Pahlen. In spite of the news of the battle of Waterloo, on June sixteenth, eighteen hundred and fifteen, and the second abdication of Napoleon, the Russians still continued their invasion of France. When Alexander reached Paris, he found Blücher already established there, treating it as a conquered city, exacting a tribute of a hundred millions, and preparing to blow up the bridge of Jena. Alexander was hailed as a deliverer by the inhabitants, who were terrified by the Prussian violence. He protested against the outrageous demands of the Germans, and found support in the wise policy of Wellington. Both felt that to restore the Bourbons to a greatly weakened France would be to render this unlucky dynasty still more powerless. They could not this time prevent the pillage of the museums, but the exactions of Russia and England were relatively the most moderate. There was a reason for this: these two sovereigns understood that in the regulation of European affairs, and especially of the affairs of the East, France would be an ally in the future, an obstacle to the exaggerated pretensions of either side, at once "a menace and a protection"; it was essential to the equilibrium of Europe. On the other hand, Alexander did not care to obtain for Germany the "territorial guarantees" which it demanded. "He wished," says Sybel, "to allow some danger to exist on this side, so that Germany, having need of Russia, might thus remain dependent." "A Russian diplomat," says Pertz, "avowed ingenuously that it was not the policy of Russia to give Germany secure frontiers against France." Capo d'Istria said openly to Stein that it was Russia's interest to strengthen France, so that the other powers should not employ all their forces against Russia. If

Stein used all his influence with Alexander to cause the claims of the Russian patriots to prevail, other influences were at work to oppose him. First, there was the Duc de Richelieu, who had been the governor of New Russia, the founder of Odessa, and whom Alexander desired to see replace the wily Talleyrand in the cabinet of Louis the Eighteenth. Then came Capo d'Istria, Pozzo di Borgo, and his Greek advisers, who, seeing the Eastern question appearing on the horizon, wished to secure for the Hellenic interest an alliance with Russia against the narrow policy of Austria and England. Last came Madame de Krüdener, the widow of a Russian diplomat, in her youth distinguished for her beauty, who placed before Alexander her mystic and religious ideas of absolute justice, of greatness of soul, of forgiveness for offences, of universal brotherhood, and who in her drawing-room, one of the most brilliant in Paris, surrounded the emperor with every one France could boast who was brilliant and seductive, — Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant, Madame Récamier, and the Duchesses de Duras and d'Escar.

It is an incontestable fact, that of all the allies Russia showed itself the least grasping. Here is the table of propositions made officially by each member of the Coalition : Russia, temporary occupation of France, and a war indemnity ; England, the same conditions, and the return of the frontiers to those of seventeen hundred and ninety ; Austria, the same, together with the dismantling of the fortresses of Flanders, Lorraine, and Alsace ; Prussia, occupation, indemnity, return to the frontier of seventeen hundred and ninety, cession of the fortresses of Flanders, Lorraine, and Alsace. The secondary states of Germany and the Low Countries demanded the cession of Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace, and Savoy. "Such," says M. Sorel, "were the official propositions ; the oral demands were quite another thing." "Look here, my dear Duke," said Alexander to Richelieu in eighteen hundred and eighteen, "this is France as my allies wished to make it ; they wanted only

my signature, and that, I promise you, they shall want always." The map that he showed the Duke presented a line of frontiers which would have deprived France of Flanders, Metz, Alsace, and the east of Franche-Comté, which was even more than was allowed by Carlovitz, who proposed to Stein that France should be divided into *Langue d'Oe* and *Langue d'Oil*, after being robbed of its Flenish and German speaking provinces, or by the demoniacs who clamored for Burgundy and the ancient kingdom of Arles.

Richelieu had just succeeded Talleyrand as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He found himself in the presence of a collective ultimatum of the powers, demanding the cession of Savoy, Condé, Philippeville, Marienburg, Givet, Charlemont, Landau, Fort-Joux, Fort-l'Ecluse, the demolition of Huningue, the payment of eight hundred million francs, and the occupation of the north and east for seven years. He discussed this ultimatum point by point. "The Russians," writes Gager, "without openly opposing them, are working secretly for the modification of the articles." Richelieu finally succeeded in saving Condé, Givet, Charlemont, the forts of Joux and l'Ecluse, and obtained the reduction of the indemnity to seven hundred millions, of the occupation to five years, with the addition of this clause, that "at the end of three years the sovereigns reserved to themselves the power to cut short the term of occupation, if the state of France permitted it." This was the treaty of November twentieth, eighteen hundred and fifteen. Alexander left Paris. In the army of occupation Champagne and Lorraine were intrusted to Russia; Vorontsof commanded twenty-seven thousand men and eighty-four guns; Alopeus had charge of the political affairs, and both lived at Nancy. Nikolai Turgénief, a member of the official staff, has given us some curious details about the Russians in Lorraine.

KINGDOM OF POLAND: CONGRESSES AT AIX-LA-CHAPPELLE, CARLSBAD, LAYBACH, AND VERONA.

With regard to Poland, Alexander accomplished more loyally and more completely than the two other co-partitioners the somewhat vague obligations imposed on them by the Treaty of Vienna. After the farewells of Fontainebleau, Dombrowski, commander-in-chief of the legions of the Vistula, placed his troops at the disposal of the Emperor Alexander, from whom the Poles hoped for the restoration of their country. The Tsar assigned Poznan as their place of assembly, and gave them his brother Konstantin as head. On the eleventh of December, eighteen hundred and fourteen, the Grand Duke addressed them a proclamation in French: "Gather around your banners; arm yourselves to defend your country and to maintain your political existence. While this august monarch is preparing the happy future of your country, show yourselves ready to second his noble efforts, even at the price of your blood. The same chiefs who for twenty years have led you on the path of glory will know how to bring you back to it. The Emperor appreciates your courage. In the midst of the disasters of a fatal war he has watched your honor survive events for which you were not responsible. Great feats of arms have distinguished you in a struggle whose cause was often not your own. Now that your efforts are consecrated to your country, you will be invincible. . . . Thus you will reach that happy position which others may promise, but the Emperor alone can secure to you." This proclamation, by which Russia adopted all the glories of the ancient army of Warsaw, was the most magnificent of amnesties. In a letter of Alexander to Oginski, President of the Polish Senate, dated the thirtieth of April, eighteen hundred and fifteen, he takes the title of King of Poland, and speaks of the efforts he had made to "soften the rigors of separation, and even to obtain for the Poles all possible enjoyment of their national institutions."

On the twenty-first of June, eighteen hundred and fifteen, the cannon at Warsaw announced the restoration of Poland. As a delicate attention to Polish loyalty, the act of abdication of the King of Saxony was published, as well as the manifesto of the new King of Poland. The army, assembled in the plain of Vola, took the oath of allegiance. The warlike blazon of the kingdom was wedded to the arms of Russia. The new constitution was almost the reproduction of that of the Napoleonic grand duchy. It contained a senate and a chamber of deputies; the senate was composed of bishops, voievodui, castellans, nominated as life members by the king; the chamber, of seventy-seven noble deputies and fifty-one deputies from the towns. The necessary qualification was property taxed at fifteen rubles for the deputies, and at three hundred for a senator; the former must have reached the age of thirty, the latter that of thirty-five. The electors of the deputies were proprietors above the age of twenty-one, priests, professors, learned men, and artists. The diet was to meet every two years, and to sit thirty days. Laws had to be passed by both chambers, and sanctioned by the king. The constitution declared the liberty of the press, with the exception of one law which restrained its abuses. Amongst the responsible ministers, we find some men of the former régime. Sobolevski was Minister of Finance, Matuszevitch of the Interior, Stanislas Pototski of Education, Vavrzhevski of Justice, Viéléhorski of War. The namiestnik, or viceroy, was Zaionteliek, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars. Konstantin, the Emperor's brother, was commander-in-chief of the Polish army; Novosiltsof, imperial commissioner. They had thus taken the places of Poniatovski, leader of the Poles, and of Bignon, the envoy of Napoleon. The ministers formed the council of government, and, united to the principal dignitaries, they formed the general council of the kingdom. Tchéartoruiski could not console himself for not having been chosen namiestnik.

Alexander's mystic notions soon, however, began to obscure

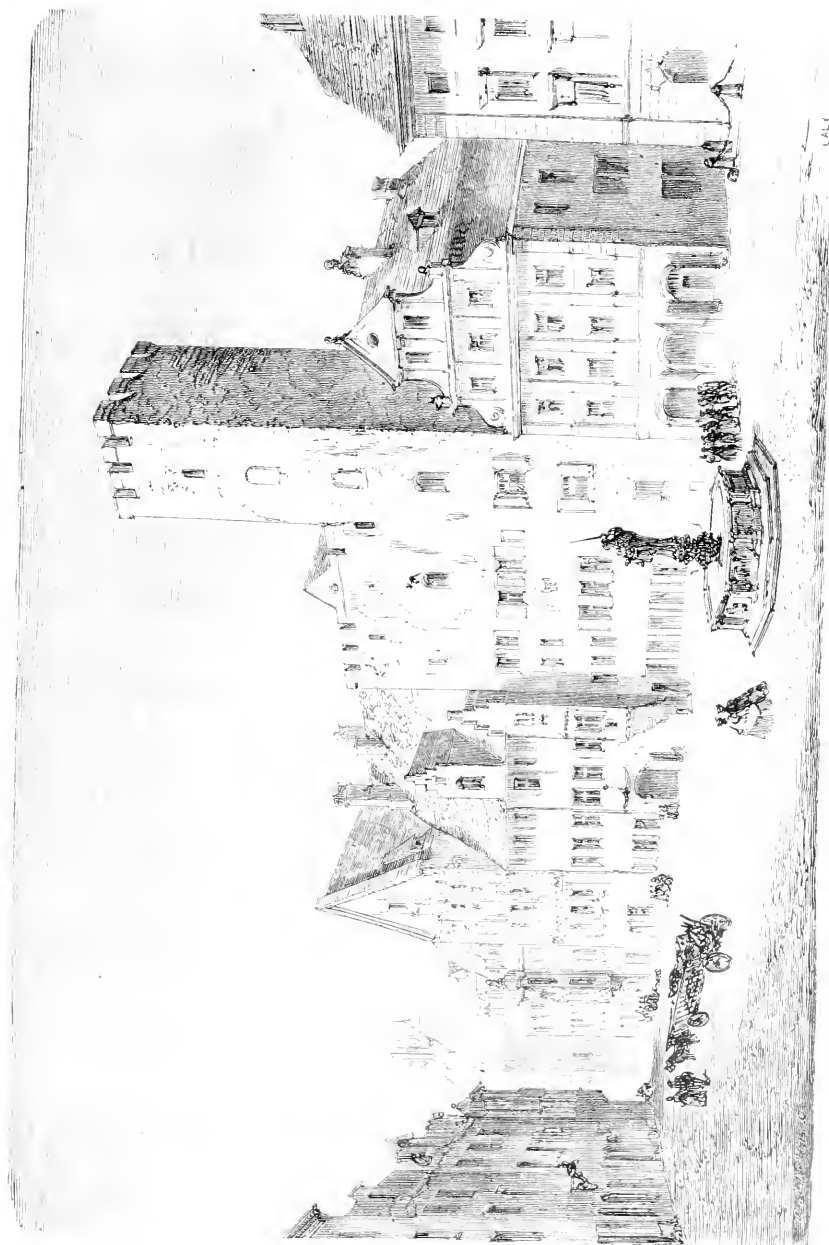
his liberal ideas. At the time of the burning of Moscow he had turned for comfort to the companion of his youth, Prince Alexander Galitsuin, who was inclined to mysticism, and directed him to the Bible as the only source of strength, comfort, and peace. Henceforth the religious notions of the Emperor were changed, and a sort of Protestant mysticism began to claim his attention. Madame de Krüdener, who had written a novel somewhat in the style of "Werther," having outlived her beauty, was now devoted to religion, and felt that she was a prophetess. The Empress Elisabeth, Alexander's wife, spent the summer of eighteen hundred and fourteen with her brother, the Duke of Baden. There Madame de Krüdener became the firm friend of one of the court ladies, the Princess Roxandra Sturdza. In the letters which she afterwards wrote her new friend, she says: "You wish you could only express to me the many profoundly beautiful characteristics of the Emperor's soul. I think that I already know a great deal about him. I have been sure for a long time that the Lord will give me the joy of seeing him. I have immeasurable things to communicate to him, for I have suffered much on account of him; the Lord alone can prepare his heart to receive them." And again, "Although the Prince of darkness do his utmost to prevent it and to keep at a distance from him those who can speak to him of things divine, yet the Eternal will be victorious." These letters were shown to the Emperor, and interested him deeply. Madame de Krüdener followed the Emperor to Paris, and we saw with what associates she surrounded him. Franz Bader, however, was the originator of the idea of the Holy Alliance. He was a man of unusual power and of very peculiar views. Philosophy in his eyes was better understood by the mystics of the Middle Ages than by such skeptics as Kant, upon whom he looked with unmeasured contempt. In eighteen hundred and fourteen he addressed from Munich a letter to the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, suggesting the idea of a

Christian Alliance founded on universal brotherhood and love. Many things conspired to make Bader's plan bear fruit in Alexander's heart. In Paris Madame de Krüdener kept urging him to perform mighty Christian deeds, and it was under the influence of this adventuress, and a magnetizing quack by the name of Bergasse, that the Emperor wrote the first draught of the Holy Alliance, by which the sovereigns were to agree to consider all men as brothers, and to remain in a bond of perpetual fraternity, giving each other comfort and assistance, and looking upon their armies and subjects as children, at the same time protecting religion, peace, and righteousness. They then agreed to become the members of one and the same nation in Christ, ruling in accordance with the power intrusted them by God in his three essences, and finally allowing all other powers to join the Alliance on the condition of recognizing these axioms. Inoffensive though it was, it made a great noise in Europe, and is a singular monument and a curious proof of his temper at this period. Without doubt he meant it to be a mystic bond, and hence would allow none but the sovereigns to sign their names ; but Francis declared that Metternich must become a party to it, and Alexander finally consented. The King of Prussia signed it willingly, but, as Madame de Krüdener afterwards bitterly complained, without laying weight to it, the Emperor of Austria without knowing why, Louis the Eighteenth surely with a smile ; Castlereagh refused his signature "to a simple declaration of biblical principles, which would have carried England back to the epoch of the Saints, of Cromwell, and the Roundheads." Later, all the princes of Europe were invited to sign, except the Sultan and the Pope, against whom the Emperor had acquired a deeply rooted prejudice. Nevertheless, Russia had then in Europe a preponderating influence, out of proportion to its real strength and the number of its army. But it was Alexander who had given the signal for the struggle against Napoleon, and had shown the most per-

severance in pursuit of the common end. Alone, he could never have crushed the man of destiny, the black angel, as Madame de Krüdener called him, but without his example the States of Europe would never have dreamed of arming against him. His skilful leniency towards France finished the work begun by the war. Alexander was incontestably the head of the European arcopagus. Nicholas had to commit many faults before Russia lost this place, which prestige and public opinion had given it.

Alexander's influence showed itself in the congresses in which the European States tried to arrange together the affairs of the Continent. The first in date after the Congress of Vienna is that of Aix-la-Chapelle in eighteen hundred and eighteen, which regulated the relations of Europe with France; this country appeared sufficiently quiet for the occupation to cease. This was not the fault of the Court of Artois and of the "pavillon de Marsan"; but their famous secret note made Alexander only indignant. In a visit which he paid to Louis the Eighteenth, he said, "If any of my subjects had committed a similar crime, I should have put him to death." But Richelieu gained his object, the entrance of France once more into the European assembly.

The second congress was that of Carlsbad in eighteen hundred and nineteen, where the tone of mind prevalent in Germany was discussed. The disloyalty of the German princes, who had forgotten the promises of liberty made in eighteen hundred and thirteen; that of Frederick William the Third, who had caused himself to be absolved from his engagements by the Prussian bishop Eylert; and the reactionary influence of Metternich on the Diet of Ratisbon, had provoked a general stir in German public opinion. The young men and university professors, the liberal writers, and the former members of the Tugenbund demanded the promised constitutions. The ecstatic demonstrations of the German students, and the murder of Kotzebue by Maurice Sand, shook all the cabinets.



STREET IN RATSEBON.

From this moment Alexander's character seems to change: the liberator of Europe, the champion of liberal ideas, submits in his turn to the influence of Metternich; he subscribes to measures which have for their aim to deprive Germany of the liberties which he himself had promised in eighteen hundred and thirteen. The press is subjected to a rigorous censure; the universities are closely watched and the liberal professors expelled; and the patriots of the war of independence, and Alexander's companions in arms, are obliged to seek refuge in the France they had despoiled.

Soon the stir in men's minds spread through Europe. Spain rose and imposed a constitution on its king; this constitution became an object of envy to the neighboring peoples; then broke out the revolutions of Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont. As champion of divine right Alexander now defended the contemptible petty kings of the South, Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain and Ferdinand the Fourth of Naples, who had perjured themselves to their people. He who had wished to give Poland a constitution, and to guarantee that of France, opposed to the utmost the constitutional measures of Spain and Italy. By an aberration similar to that which Paul the First had experienced, he thought himself obliged to interfere, in these remote regions, about questions foreign to the interests of Russia. He convoked a congress at Troppau in eighteen hundred and twenty, then transferred it to Laybach, so that the King of Naples might more easily be present at it, be absolved from his constitutional oath, and provoke vengeance against his too credulous subjects. Alexander was on the point of sending an army to Naples under the command of Iermolof, the hero of Borodino and of Kulm; but Austria, always uneasy at Russian interference in Italy, hastily despatched Frimont, who put an end to the Neapolitan and Piedmontese constitutions. The Russian flag thus escaped the doubtful honor of protecting, as in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, the bloody Neapolitan reaction, and of sanction-

ing the vengeance of Austria against Pellico, Pallavicini, and Maroncelli. Iermolof rejoiced at it. "There is no example," he writes, "of a general appointed to command an expedition being so delighted as I am that there is no war. It is by no means advantageous to one's reputation to appear in Italy after Suvorof and Bonaparte, who will be the admiration of future centuries."

In eighteen hundred and twenty-two the Congress of Verona took place. Russia sent, like the other powers, a threatening note to the constitutional cabinet of Madrid. The latter returned a proud answer; it was the French army which was intrusted to carry out the wishes of Europe beyond the Pyrenees.

Still graver events were at hand in the East. The Balkan peninsula, almost entirely peopled by the co-religionists of the Russians, began to be in thorough commotion. The Ottoman yoke bore heavily on all. The Valakhians and Moldavians complained of the violations of the Treaty of Bukarest. The Serbians, whose independence Alexander had guaranteed, and who had been crushed by the Porte while the eyes of Europe were turned another way, had taken up arms under Milosh Obrenovitch. A young Greek by the name of Rigas conceived the idea of freeing his native land, and founded the hetaireia; this secret brotherhood was spreading in all the provinces, in all the isles of Greece; it counted already one martyr, its founder, Rigas, who was arrested at Trieste, delivered up by the Austrians, and executed by the Turks. What was Alexander to do in the presence of this awakening universe? Would he burn with something of that crusading ardor which hurried Peter the Great to the banks of the Pruth? Would he act here "according to the principles and after the heart of Catherine," as he said in his manifesto at his accession? Would Serbia find in him the liberator of eighteen hundred and thirteen, or the president of the Congress of Carlsbad, the man believing in legitimacy at all costs,

the champion of absolute monarchical rights, the theorist of the passive obedience of subjects? This seemed so impossible to the nations, that the Greeks refused to believe Capo d'Istria when he asserted that they would not be supported. Ypsilanti could not imagine that the Emperor would seriously disavow him; he crossed the Pruth, raised the Rumanian populations, and succumbed at Ruimnik, which had witnessed the triumph of Suvorof. Alexander might multiply his disavowals, but the Petoponnesos rose under Kolokotroni, and the Mainotes under Mavromichalis. The war of extermination had already begun by the Mussulman riot at Constantinople. At the feast of Easter, eighteen hundred and twenty-one, the Greek population were assaulted, and, as if the better to insult the orthodox religion, the Patriarch was seized at the altar, and hung at the doors of the church in his sacerdotal robes. The Grand Vizier amused himself for an hour by seeing his corpse ill-treated by the Turkish populace, and dragged through the mud by the Jews. Three metropolitans, eight bishops, thirty thousand Greeks, men, women, and children, were slain. Russia trembled with indignation. Dibitch drew up an admirable plan of campaign, which still deserves to be studied, and which he executed in the following reign. Alexander exchanged diplomatic notes with the Porte, and allowed himself to be lulled to sleep by England and Austria, which did not desire intervention. The massacres continued. Alexander occupied himself about them at Verona, at the same time as the affairs of Spain. The Russian people were astounded, and attributed to the wrath of God, angry at the impunity accorded to the assassins of the Greek patriarch, first the terrible inundation of Saint Petersburg, and soon the premature and mysterious death of Alexander.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALEXANDER THE FIRST: INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

1801 – 1825.

EARLY YEARS: THE TRIUMVIRATE; LIBERAL MEASURES; THE MINISTERS; PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. — SPERANSKI: COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE; PROJECTED CIVIL CODE; IDEAS OF SOCIAL REFORM. — ARAKTCHÉEF: POLITICAL AND UNIVERSITY REACTION; MILITARY COLONIES. — SECRET SOCIETIES: POLAND. — LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENT.

EARLY YEARS: THE TRIUMVIRATE; LIBERAL MEASURES; THE MINISTERS; PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

IN the home affairs of the empire, the early years of Alexander's reign, succeeding to the hard rule of Paul the First, had been a period of emancipation, of generous ideas, and liberal reforms. The Emperor had announced in his manifesto on his accession that he would govern "according to the principles and after the heart of Catherine the Second." When he managed to free himself from the guardianship of the conspirators of the twenty-fourth of March, eighteen hundred and one, he surrounded himself either with his grandmother's ministers, or with new men, young like himself, who shared his great hopes and his schemes of regeneration. Like him, they brought to the regulation of affairs much inexperience, but immense good-will. Those who at that time most influenced Alexander were Prince Adam Tchartoruiski, Novosiltsof, Strogonof, and Kotchubey. The first three were closely united, and were known by the name of the triumvirate. They knew Western Europe better than Russia; the English constitution was their ideal; Tchartoruiski, a great Polish

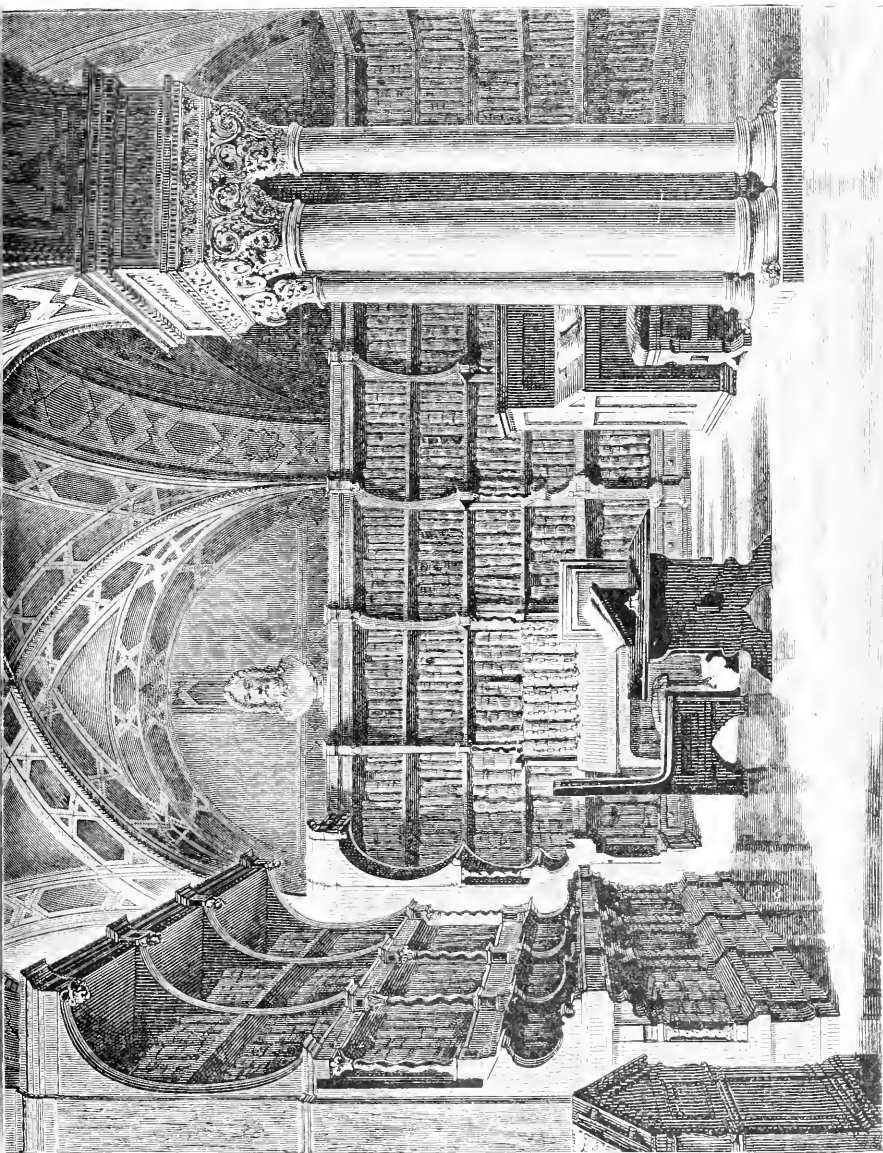
lord, whose family had given kings to Poland, cherished a dream of the reorganization of his native country, under the sceptre of the Emperor of Russia. He profited by his situation as guardian of the academic department of Vilna, to favor the teaching of the Polish language in White Russia. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, or intimate adviser of Alexander, he never lost sight of the interests of his nation, at whose head he hoped one day to place himself, in the capacity of viceroy or *nanniestnik* of the Emperor.

The tyrannical measures of the preceding reign were reversed; the Russians were again permitted to travel abroad freely, and foreigners were allowed to penetrate into Russia. European books and papers entered the country freely, the censorship was mitigated, and new instructions ordered the doubtful passages of a book to be interpreted in the sense most favorable to the innocence of the author. The "secret expedition," another form of the secret court of police, or of the State inquisition, was abolished, and its functions handed over to the senate. Priests and deacons, gentlemen and citizens belonging to the guilds, were declared exempt from corporal punishments.

Grander designs were brought forward in the council of the young sovereign. As an introduction to the code of the empire, a sort of constitutional scheme was discussed, in which the privileges of the supreme power were defined, its obligations spoken of, and where the rights of subjects, and of the four orders of the State, were in question. A sort of civil list was established, under the name of "his Majesty's cabinet." The emancipation of the serfs, as in the brightest period of the reign of Catherine the Second, was the topic of the day. The situation of the Crown peasants, who were much more free and happy than those belonging to individuals, was assured by the resolution taken by the Emperor to make no more donations of "souls." They even went so far as to devote a million of rubles yearly to the acquisition of land

with serfs for the Crown. While waiting for a more general measure, Alexander put forth the edict of February, eighteen hundred and three, which legalized contracts of freedom voluntarily entered into between the owners and their slaves; the individuals or the communes who thus acquired liberty while they kept their land, formed in Russia a new class, the "free cultivators," who, with the ancient freeholders, became the nucleus of a rural third estate. The German nobility of Esthonia in eighteen hundred and sixteen, that of Kurland in eighteen hundred and seventeen, and that of Livonia in eighteen hundred and nineteen, resolved to anticipate the needs of the new century, so as not to be obliged to submit to them entirely; they took the initiative in the emancipation of Lett or Tchud serfs, in order that they might consult their own interests in the operation. "All the serfs of these provinces," says M. Bogdanovitch, "were gradually to pass in an interval of fourteen years to the condition of free persons. It was forbidden to sell them with or without land, individually or by families, to give them away, to hire them out, or to make them slaves by any means whatever. Their right to acquire land, houses, and other property was recognized. In civil cases they were in the first two instances amenable to judges elected by themselves and partly drawn from among them. Thus they had now only civil relations with their former masters; but as the latter had distributed no lands among them, the serfs were kept in a burdensome state of dependence upon them." Formerly they were slaves body and soul, but possessed lands; now they were free, but forced for their livelihood to continue to cultivate for others, as farmers or day-laborers, the soil which had belonged to their warlike ancestors.

The prohibitions of the former reigns against the sale of slaves at auctions, and the separation of the members of one family, were renewed. The abuse, however, still continued, and Nikolai Turgénief assures us that there was a public



slave-market almost under the windows of the imperial palace.

Alexander also gave evidence of his good intentions towards the raskolniki. "Reason and experience," says the edict, "have for a long while proved that the spiritual errors of the people, which official sermons cause to take only deeper root, cannot be cured and dispelled except by forgiveness, good examples, and tolerance. Does it become a government to employ violence and cruelty to bring back these wandering sheep to the fold of the Church?" These inoffensive sects were protected rather than persecuted; Alexander visited their settlements more than once in the course of his travels. A sect of dancing raskolniki were allowed to celebrate their rites in the Mikhail Palace, and Prince Galitsuin, Minister of Public Worship, was seen honoring with his presence the absurdities of the priestess Tatarinof, and the sacred dances of her adherents.

In political institutions two great innovations took place in eighteen hundred and two. The collegiate organization of the branches of the administration was set aside; the colleges of Peter the Great, which had succeeded the prikazui of the ancient Tsars, were now replaced by ministers, after the European custom. Here is a list of the first ministry of Alexander the First: War, General Viasmiatinof; Marine, Admiral Mordvinof, a bold patriot and distinguished administrator; Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor Alexander Vorontsof, nephew of Elisabeth's great Chancellor; Home Office, Count Kotchubey; Justice, Derzhavin, the poet; Finance, Count Vasilief; Commerce, Count Rumiantsof, celebrated for his patronage of arts and sciences; Public Education, Count Zavodovski. The number and functions of the ministers were more than once modified. Ministers of domains, of the Crown, of general control, of roads and bridges, and of the Emperor's household, were afterwards created.

The second innovation bore upon another great institution

of Peter the First. the senate, whose importance had been lessened by the formation of an imperial council, presided over by the Emperor or by an appointed minister. Ministers and the general council lacked, however, one essential thing, — responsibility. Autocracy abdicated none of its rights. On one occasion one of the councillors of Alexander put this question : “Sire, if a minister refused to sign an edict of your Majesty, would the edict be binding without this formality?” “Certainly,” replied Alexander; “an edict must be executed under all circumstances.”

Alexander and his young fellow-laborers undertook a vast reorganization of public education. The empire was divided into six scholastic circles. That of Saint Petersburg included eight governments; that of Moscow, eleven; that of Dorpat, the three German provinces; that of Kharkof, sixteen, with the Caucasus and Bessarabia; that of Kazan, twelve, including Siberia; that of Vilna, six in White Russia. At the head of each circle was placed a *popetchitel*, or guardian, ordinarily a considerable personage, like Novosiltsof, Pototski, or Adam Tchartorniski, charged with the protection of the schools and their general direction.

For the instruction of the clergy, ecclesiastical schools were founded, whose revenues were obtained from the exclusive sale of tapers in the churches. Above these schools were seminaries; next the ecclesiastical academies of Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kazan, and Kief. The laity were to be instructed in parish and district schools, and gymnasia; to furnish masters, the pedagogic institutes of Moscow and Saint Petersburg were established. The universities of Moscow, Vilna, and Dorpat were reorganized; those of Kazan and Kharkof, and, later, that of Saint Petersburg, were founded. There was a plan of establishing two at Tobolsk and Usting. Fifteen government schools, or corps of cadets, were also founded, where the young nobles could receive a military education. The Alexander Lyceum at Tsarskoé-Selo, afterwards transferred to Kamennui-Ostrof,

was built for the same purpose. From this epoch also dates the lyceum of commerce, or *Gymnasium Richelieu*, at Odessa, and the Lazaref Institute, or school for Oriental languages.

SPERANSKI: COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE; SCHEME OF THE CIVIL CODE; IDEAS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

From eighteen hundred and six to eighteen hundred and twelve the preponderating influence over Alexander was that of Speranski. The son of a village priest, educated at a seminary, then mathematical and philosophical professor at the school of Alexander Nevski, preceptor to the children of Alexis Kurakin, by whose means he quitted the ecclesiastical career for the civil service, he became secretary to Troshtchinski, who was at that time chancellor of the imperial council. Later, when director of the department of the Interior under Prince Kotchubey, Speranski succeeded to the post of Secretary of State, and began to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Emperor. The favorites of the preceding period were all imbued with English ideas; Speranski, on the contrary, loved France, had imbibed the principles of the Revolution, and entertained a deep admiration for Napoleon. These French sympathies, then shared by Alexander the First, formed a fresh bond between the prince and the minister,—a bond which was severed by the rupture between the Emperor and Napoleon. “Besides,” says M. Bogdanovitch, “we know the inclinations of Alexander for representative forms and constitutional governments, which could not fail to seduce the former disciple of Laharpe; but this taste resembled that of a dilettante who goes into ecstasies over a beautiful picture. Alexander had promptly convinced himself that neither the vast extent of Russia, nor the constitution of civil society, allowed this dream to be realized. He therefore deferred the execution of his Utopia from day to day, but delighted to hold conversations with his friends about his projected constitution and the disadvantages of absolutism. Speranski, to please the Emperor, showed

himself the ardent defender of the principles of liberty, and thereby was exposed to accusations of entertaining anarchical ideas, and scheming against the institutions consecrated by time and manners." Hard-working, well-educated, both patriotic and humane, he would have been the man to realize all that was practicable in Alexander's Utopian schemes.

Speranski presented a systematic plan of reforms to his sovereign. The Council of the Empire received still more extensive privileges. Composed of the chief dignitaries of the State, it became in some measure the legislative power; it had to examine all the new laws, the extraordinary measures, the relations of the ministers. It was a kind of sketch of a representative government. The Council of the Empire was divided into four departments: war, law, political economy, civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Alexander solemnly opened this parliament of officials on the thirteenth of January, eighteen hundred and ten. Speranski was nominated secretary of the Council of the Empire. All affairs passed through his hands: he became in a manner the Prime Minister. To his mind, the Council of the Empire being at the head of the legislation, and the ministers at the head of the administration, the Senate ought to occupy the same rank in the judicial order. As the legislative power had been re-organized by the reform of the council, and the administrative power by the reform of the ministry, so the judicial power, in its turn, ought to undergo a complete change. The tribunals, in his opinion, ought to be composed of judges partly nominated by the monarch, partly elected by the nobles. It was plain that Speranski had studied the laws of the French assemblies, the system of Siéyès and the Constitution of the year eight. The judicial was to be followed by a financial reform. Already, by the edict of the fourteenth of February, eighteen hundred and ten, the assignats were recognized as part of the national debt, and were to be guaranteed by the imposition of new taxes; the emission of paper money was to

be restrained; the budget was to be published, and a fund for the redemption of the bonds to be created. Speranski, in short, had in his mind something like the French Grand Livre of the public debt and the budget of the Western States. As a minor task he had undertaken to codify the laws. To him the Code Napoléon — that legacy of the French Revolution, which had at that time been adopted by Holland, Italy, the Bund, and the grand duchy of Warsaw — seemed the very model of all progressive legislation. After the interview at Erfurt, where Napoleon showed him particular attention, Speranski had been exchanging letters with the French legal writers, — Locré, Legras, Dupont de Nemours, and had made them correspondents of the legislative commission of the Council of the Empire. The Code Napoléon could suit only a homogeneous nation, free from personal and fendal servitude, where every one enjoyed a certain equality before the law. Thus Speranski looked on the emancipation of the serfs as the corner-stone of his building; he dreamed of forming a middle class, of limiting the numbers of the privileged classes, and of forming an aristocracy of great families like the English peerage. As early as eighteen hundred and nine he had decided that persons holding university degrees should enjoy certain advantages over others, when aspiring to the degrees of the *Tchin*. Thus a doctor would be on a level with the eighth rank, a master of arts with the ninth, a man of master's standing who had not taken his degree with the tenth, a bachelor of arts with the twelfth.

Speranski, like Turgot, the minister of Louis the Eighteenth, and like Stein, the Prussian reformer, set every one in arms against him. The nobles of the court and of the antechamber, — the “sweepers of the parquets,” as Alexander called them, — and the young officials who wished to owe their promotion solely to favor, were exasperated by the edict of eighteen hundred and nine. The proprietors were alarmed at Speranski's schemes for the emancipation of the serfs; the senators were

irritated by his plan of reorganization, which reduced the first order of the empire to the position of a supreme court of justice; the high aristocracy were indignant at the boldness of a man of low extraction, the son of a village priest. The people themselves murmured at the increase of the taxes. All these injured interests leagued themselves against him. The minister was accused of despising the institutions of Muscovy, of daring to present to the Russians the Code Napoléon as a model, the country being at that time on the eve of a war with France. The ministers Balashef, Armfelt, Gurief, Count Rostoptchin, and the Grand Duchess Ekaterina Pavlovna, the Emperor's sister, influenced Alexander against him. The historian Karamsin addressed to his sovereign his enthusiastic essay on New and Ancient Russia, in which he made himself the champion of serfage, of the old laws, and of autocracy. They went the length of denouncing Speranski as a traitor and accomplice of France. In March, eighteen hundred and twelve, he suddenly vanished from the capital and went as governor to Nijni-Novgorod, but was shortly afterwards deprived of his post, and subjected to a close surveillance. In eighteen hundred and nineteen, when passions had calmed down, he was nominated governor of Siberia, where he was able to render important services. In eighteen hundred and twenty-one he returned to Saint Petersburg, but without recovering his former position.

ARAKTCHÉEF: POLITICAL AND UNIVERSITY REACTION; MILITARY COLONIES.

Another period, another season, had begun. The enemies of Speranski — Armfelt, Shishkof, and Rostoptchin — were in places of the highest trust; but the favorite above all was Araktchéef, the rough “corporal of Gatchina,” the instrument of Paul's tyranny, the born enemy of all new ideas and all thoughts of reform, the apostle of absolute power and passive obedience. He first gained the confidence of Alexander by



SIBERIANS

his devotion to the memory of Paul; next by his punctuality, his prompt obedience, his disinterestedness and habits of work, and by the naïve admiration which he showed for the "genius of the Emperor." He was the safest of servants, the most imperious of superiors, and the instrument best fitted for a reaction. His influence was not at first exclusive. After having conquered Napoleon, Alexander liked to think himself the liberator of nations. He had freed Germany; he spared France, and obtained for it a charter; he granted a constitution to Poland, and meant to extend its benefit to Russia. If the censorship of the press had become more severe, and forbade the *Viestnik Slovesnosti*, the *Courier of Belle Letters*, to criticise "his Majesty's servants," Alexander had not yet renounced all his utopias. To the French influence succeeded the Protestant and English influence. The French theatres were shut, and Bible Societies opened. The British and Foreign Bible Society established itself in the capital, received subscriptions amounting to three hundred thousand rubles, and published five hundred thousand volumes in fifty different languages. The Russian Bible Society, with its offshoot, the Cossack Bible Society at *Teherkask*, published hundreds of thousands of copies of the holy books. It was at this time that the influence of Madame de Krüdener, and a revival of the terrible memories of March, eighteen hundred and one, made Alexander a dreamy mystic. He received a deputation of Quakers, prayed and wept with them, and kissed the hand of old Allen. Notwithstanding, the first epoch of the ministry of *Arakchéef* was an epoch of sterility. If at present there were no reaction, everything had at least come to a standstill. The war of eighteen hundred and twelve had interrupted the reforms which had been begun, and they were not resumed. There was an end of the Code of *Speranski*, and the efforts to compile another more suitable to the Russian traditions came to nothing.

The character of Alexander soon sadly changed. He grew

gloomy and suspicious. His last illusions had flown, his last liberal ideas were dissipated. After the congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle and Troppau, he was no longer the same man. It was at Troppau that Metternich announced to him, with calculated exaggeration, the mutiny of the Semenovski, his favorite regiment of guards. From that time he considered himself the dupe of his generous ideas, and the victim of universal ingratitude. He had wished to liberate Germany, and German opinion turned against him: his pensioner, Kotzebue, had been assassinated by Maurice Sand. He had sought the sympathy of vanquished France, and at Aix-la-Chapelle a French plot was discovered against him. He had longed to restore Poland, and Poland desired only to be completely free, while Russia demanded an explanation from Alexander of the new danger he had created on his frontier, by the reconstruction of the Lekhite kingdom. It was at this moment that the Holy Alliance of the sovereigns became an alliance against popular liberty; at Carlsbad, at Laybach, and at Verona, Alexander was already the leader of the European reaction. In the East he disavowed Ypsilanti; in Russia he owned the influence of Araktchéef and the Obscurants. The Araktchév-tehina had begun.

Remonstrated with by Archbishop Serafim, Alexander broke with the Bible Societies, and forced his old friend, Prince Galitsuin, the liberal and tolerant Minister of Public Instruction, to resign. Galitsuin was replaced by Shishkof. The censorship became daily more strict. The Jesuits, who had been expelled from St. Petersburg, were banished from the whole empire, as a punishment for their proselytism; and they really were unnecessary in Russia, for the orthodox guardians of the Russian universities could rival them in the art of stifling independent thought. The popetchitel of Kazan University was Magnitski, who proposed to organize the teaching in accordance with the "act of the Holy Alliance." He dismissed eleven of the professors; struck out of the list of

honorary members Abbé Grégoire, a Frenchman and “a regicide,” and excluded all suspicious books from the library, notably the work of Grotius on International Law. He forbade the geological theories of Buffon and the systems of Copernicus and Newton to be taught, as contrary to the text of Scripture. The professor of history was obliged to become inspired with the ideas of Bossuet as expressed in his “*Histoire Universelle*.” The science of medicine ought to be a Christian science; hence dissection was almost entirely forbidden, as incompatible with the respect due to the dead. The professor of political economy was enjoined to insist principally on the virtues that turned material goods into spiritual possessions, “thus uniting the lower and contingent economy with the true and superior economy, and by this means forming the real science, in a politico-moral sense.” Nikolski, professor of geometry, already demonstrated in the triangle the symbol of the Trinity; and in unity, that is to say, the number *one*, the divine Unity. At Kharkof, the Professors Schad and Ossipovski, and at Saint Petersburg the professors of philosophy, history, and statistics were expelled from the universities. Galitch, Hermann, Arsenius, and Raupach were summoned by the popetchitel Runitch before a university commission. The first was accused of impiety, because he had taught the philosophy of Schelling; the others of Maratism and of Robespierism, for having expounded the theories of Schlœtzer, the protégé of Catherine the Second, or criticised agricultural serfage, and the extent to which the issue of paper money had been carried. It was forbidden in future to employ professors who had studied in the West, and it was forbidden to send thither Russian students.

The most salient feature of Arakhtchéf’s administration, of which the initiative proceeded from the gentle Alexander, was the creation of military colonies,—a system borrowed from Austria, which consisted of the settlement of soldiers among the peasants, in a certain number of districts. If these sol-

diers were married, their wives also were brought to the village; if they were not, they were married to the daughters of the peasants. A village was therefore composed, in the first place, of the military settlers, the soldiers, and, secondly, of colonized peasants, the natives. The soldiers assisted the peasant in his field-work; the children of both were destined for military service. The colonized districts were removed from the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, and subjected to military administration and government. At the end of ten years, according to Schnitzler, the total in these military districts in the governments of Novgorod, Kharkof, Mohilef, Ekaterinoslaf, and Kherson amounted to sixty thousand men and thirty thousand horse, in the midst of a population of four hundred thousand male peasants. This system appeared to have certain advantages, which gained over Speranski himself. It was argued that it secured regular recruits, lightened the burden on the rest of the population, raised the morals of the soldier by keeping him with his family, guaranteed him an asylum in his old age, restored to agriculture the labor of which the army had formerly deprived it, diminished for the government the expenses of the army and for the people the cost of lodging the troops and paying requisitions, and finally created a military nation on the frontier of the empire. And although the colonization was a heavy weight upon the natives, they were compensated by various advantages. The government augmented their lots of land, secured them personal liberty like that of the Crown peasants, repaired their houses, and dowered their daughters.

The country people did not understand it thus. Subjected at their hearths to an interference more annoying than that of their former masters and their stewards, forced into a twofold servitude as laborers and as soldiers, their habits and traditions all invaded, they cursed Araktchéf's ingenious idea, which official circles extolled. Revolts broke out, and Araktchéf, blaming the gross ignorance and ingratitude of the muzhik, repressed them with implacable severity.

SECRET SOCIETIES: POLAND.

Other elements of trouble fermented in Russia. We are no longer in the time of Catherine the Second, when the gravest social questions could be discussed with impunity, before an inattentive or indifferent nation. The noble efforts of Alexander's early years now found a decided support in public opinion. Unfortunately the sovereign and his people were at variance. While a party among the nation had become enthusiastic for liberal ideas, Alexander had grown cold about them: formerly his courageous initiative was hardly appreciated; at present it was the backsliding spirit of the government which irritated the country. A transformation had taken place; it was not in vain that the Russian officers had seen Paris, had dwelt on French soil. Those revolutionary principles of which under Catherine the Second men had caught only a glimpse across the prism of their prejudices, they had found realized in the States of the West, and had been forced to remark the coincidence of their triumph with the rapid development of a new prosperity. "From the time that the Russian armies returned to their country," writes Nikolai Turgénief, "liberal ideas, as they were then called, began to propagate themselves in Russia. Independently of the regular troops, great masses of militiamen had also seen foreign places. These militiamen of various ranks recrossed the frontier, went back to their homes, and related all that they had seen in Europe. Facts had spoken louder than any human voice. This was the true propaganda." Pestel, one of the conspirators of eighteen hundred and twenty-five, acknowledged that the restoration of the Bourbons had made an epoch in the history of his ideas and political convictions. He says: "I then saw that though the greater number of the institutions necessary to the well-being of a State were brought in by the Revolution, they were continued after the re-establishment of the monarchy as conducive to the public welfare, while formerly we all, myself

among the earliest, rose against this Revolution. From this I concluded that apparently it was not so bad as we represented to ourselves, and even contained much good. I was confirmed in my idea by observing that the States in which no revolution had taken place continued to lack many rights and privileges."

People read not only Montesquieu, Raynal, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as in the time of Catherine the Second, but Bignon, Lacretelle, De Tracy, and Benjamin Constant; and the eloquent voices of the French tribune found an echo in the young Russian nobility and part of the middle class. Politeness, the spirit of justice, and respect for the human person had made great progress. European culture no longer lay only on the surface, but it penetrated deeply into hearts and consciences. Many declared, like Wilhelm Küchelbecker: "At the thought of all the brilliant qualities with which God has endowed the Russian people, — that people which is the foremost of all in power and in glorious actions, that people whose language, so sonorous, so rich and strong, is without a rival in Europe, whose national character is a mixture of good-nature, of tenderness, of lively intelligence, and a generous disposition to pardon offences; — at the thought that all this was stifled, and would wither and perhaps perish before having produced any fruit in the moral world, my heart nearly broke." To these noble souls it was absolute suffering to see despotism hold its sway through all the grades of Russian society, in all the relations of the autocrat with the nation, of the officials with those they governed, of the officers with their soldiers, and of the proprietors with the peasants. They were indignant at beholding the Russian people alone in Europe dishonored by the serfage of the soil, and by domestic servitude, that shameful legacy of ancient Slav barbarism and the Tatar yoke, that Asiatic ignominy which continued to defile a Christian people; at the sight of the Russian soldier, the conqueror of Napoleon, the liberator of Europe, submitting to the degradation of corporal punishment. They did not believe that the

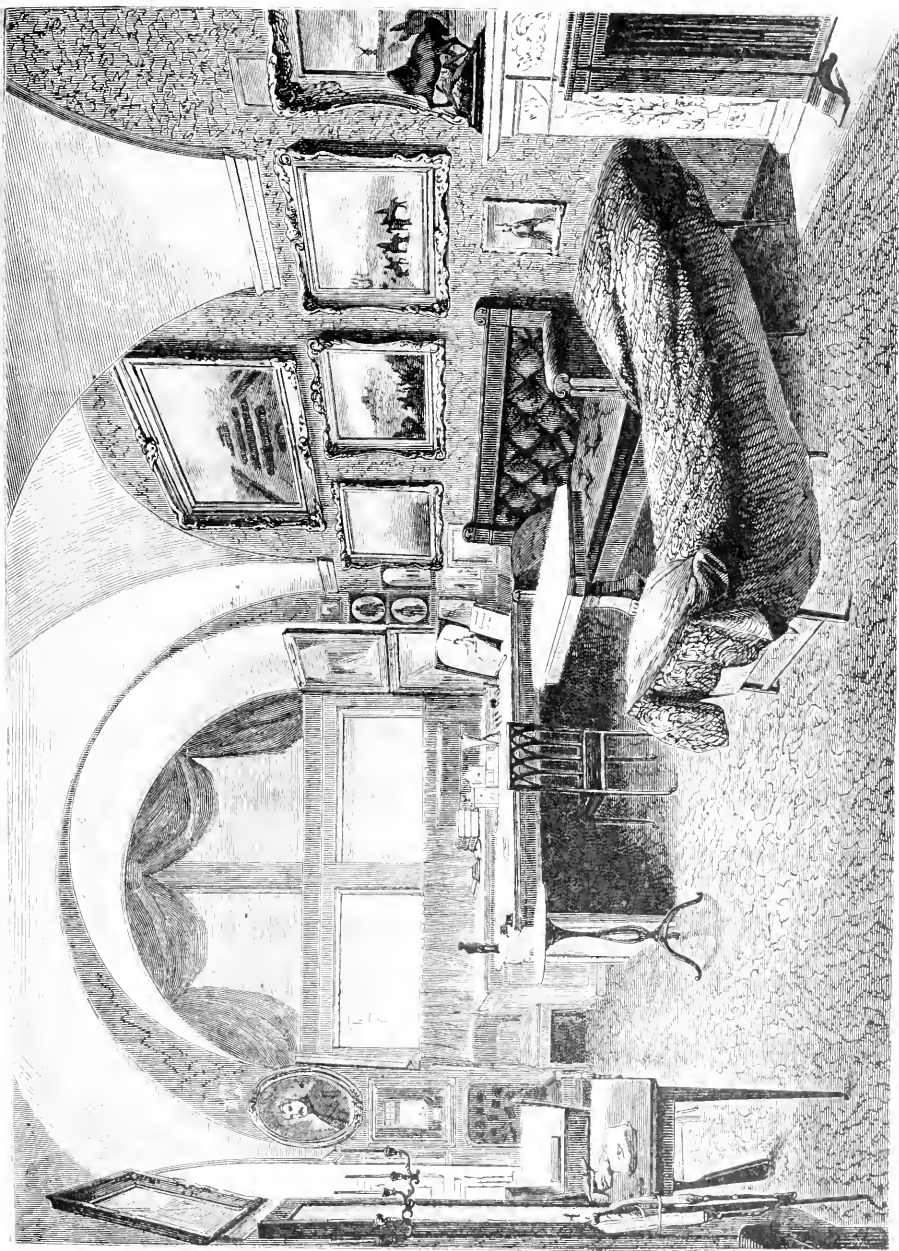
inconstant will of an autocrat with even the best intentions, that the noble plans of an Alexander — that “happy accident,” as he called himself to Madame de Staël — could make up for the want of laws and liberal institutions.

In spite of the watchfulness of suspicious police, freemasonry, forbidden since the time of Catherine the Second and Paul, was reorganized and spread over Russia, the kingdom of Poland, and the Baltic provinces. Societies of a more warlike character, and with a definite object, whose existence for a long while remained a secret, were also established at certain points. It was in eighteen hundred and eighteen that the Society for the Public Advantage, an imitation of the Germanic Tugenbund, was formed at Moscow, and reckoned among its members Prince Trubetskoï, Alexander and Nikita Muravief, Matvei and Sergi Muravief-Apostol, Nikolai Turgénief, Feodor Glinka, Mikhail Orlof, the two brothers Fon-Vizin, Iakushkin, Lunin, the princes Feodor Shakovskoï and Obolenski, and many others. The members of this association were not agreed as to the form of government they wished to give to Russia, some clinging to the idea of a constitutional monarchy, others to that of a republic, which Novikof had been one of the first to suggest. This society was dissolved in eighteen hundred and twenty-two, and gave rise to two others, — the Society of the North, or of Saint Petersburg, which had constitutional aims, and the Society of the South, which recruited its associates chiefly among the officers of the garrisons of the Ukraina or of Little Russia, where Colonel Pestel preached republicanism. A third and less important society, that of the United Slavs, dreamed of a confederacy of the Slav races, and tried to form ramifications in Bohemia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. About eighteen hundred and twenty-three the Russian societies entered into relations with the Patriotic Society of Poland, then preparing for an insurrection, and, in order to secure the help of the Poles, engaged to do all in their power to favor the restoration of the country. The most ardent

members of the Russian associations were at that time Colonel Pestel and Ruileef, the one a son of a former director of posts, the other of the head of police under Catherine the Second. By the warmth of their republican convictions, they seemed to wish to expiate the servility of their fathers. At the period of the meetings at Kief in eighteen hundred and twenty-three, Pestel read a scheme of a republican constitution and of an equalizing code. As the chief obstacle to the realization of his projects seemed to him to be the existence of the Romanof dynasty, it was decided not to shrink from the murder of the Emperor, and the extermination of the imperial family. In the bosom of the Society of the South, a still closer and more secret association had been formed, with the end of regicide in view. They were to profit by the first opportunity that presented itself, which would be a review in which Alexander was to inspect the troops of the Ukraina, in eighteen hundred and twenty-four. An active propaganda was set on foot among the soldiers of the garrisons, and common soldiers were gained over by promising them the liberty of the peasants, and the mitigation of the military régime.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENT.

The awakening of the Russian mind did not show itself in political schemes alone. In science, in letters, and in arts, the reign of Alexander was an epoch of magnificent blossom. The intellectual, like the liberal movement had not the exotic and superficial character of the reign of Catherine. It penetrated deeply into the heart of the nation, gained in power and in extent, carried away the middle classes, and was propagated in the most distant provinces. The impulse given in eighteen hundred and one had not stopped, although the government at once tried to quell the spirit it had excited, and Alexander, imbittered and cured of his illusions, had become mistrustful of all manifestations of private thought.



STUDY OF THE EMPEROR, WINTER PALACE

Though the severity of the censorship increased, the number of secret societies was not at all diminished, and reviews and literary journals continued to multiply.

The Besiédá was now formed, the literary club at which Kruihof read his fables and Derzhavin his odes, and which represented classical tendencies ; whilst the Arzamas was founded by the romantic school, — Zhukovski, Dashkof, Uvarof, Pushkin, Bludof, and Prince Viazemski. At Saint Petersburg the Society of the Friends of Science, Literature, and Arts ; that of the Friends of Russian Literature at Moscow, which published an important collection of its “transactions” ; that of the History of Russian Antiquities, and the Society of Patriotic Literature, at Kazan ; that of the Friends of Science at Kharkof, and many others of less importance, devoted themselves to letters, archæology, and the mathematical, natural, and physical sciences. At Saint Petersburg appeared the *Northern Post*, the *Saint Petersburg Messenger*, the *Northern Mercury*, the *Messenger of Sion*, an organ of the mystic party, the *Beehive*, and the *Democrat*, in which Kropotof declaimed against the influence of French ideas and manners, and in the “Funeral Oration of my Dog, Balabas,” congratulated this worthy animal, among other things, on having studied at no university, on having never occupied himself with politics, and on having never read Voltaire. Literary activity was, as ever, still greater at Moscow. Karamsin was the editor of a review entitled the *European Messenger*, which had a brilliant career, and published the masterpieces of the poets and authors of the time ; Makarof edited the *Moscow Mercury* ; Sergi Glinka established the *Russian Messenger*, in which he tried to excite a national feeling, now putting the people on their guard against any foreign influence, moral or intellectual, now arming them against Napoleon, “teaching the people to sacrifice themselves to their country,” and letting loose the furies of the “patriotic war.” With the victory of Russia over the invader his task ended, and the *Russian Messenger* disap-

peared, but his work was taken up by Gretch in his "Son of the Soil," who continued beyond the frontier the war with Napoleon, whom he taunted as a "murderer" and an "infamous tyrant," and against his companions in arms, whom he called "brigands." "Taste beforehand," he cries to the conqueror, "the immortality which you deserve. Know from this time how posterity will curse your name! You are seated on your throne amidst thunder and flames, like Satan in the midst of hell, encircled with death, with devastation, fury, and fire." The *Invalide Russe* was founded in eighteen hundred and thirteen, for the benefit of wounded or infirm soldiers. Even when the warlike fever calmed down, and men's minds were occupied with other things less hostile to French influence, this great literary movement still continued.

Almost all the writers of this period took their part in the crusade against the Gallomania and the influence of Napoleon. Some had fought in person in the war with France. Zhukovski was present at Borodino; Batiushkof had marched in the campaigns of eighteen hundred and seven and eighteen hundred and thirteen, and had been wounded at Heilsberg; Petin was killed at Leipzig; the Princes Viazemski and Shakovskoi had served among the Cossacks; Glinka in the militia, in which Karamsin, in spite of his age, had wished to enroll himself. Their writings bear the stamp of their patriotic passions. Kruihof, besides his fables, which place him not far from La Fontaine, wrote comedies, the "School for Young Ladies" and the "Milliner's Shop," in which he turned into ridicule the exaggerated taste for everything French. Amongst several classical tragedies, such as "Œdipus at Athens," "Fingal," "Polyxena," Ozérof wrote that of "Dmitri Donskoi," which recalled the struggles of Russia against the Tatars, and seemed to predict the approaching contest with another invader. The tragedy of "Pozharski," the hero of sixteen hundred and twelve, by Kriukovski, contains allusions of the same sort. In eighteen hundred and

six the poet Zhukovski sang the exploits of the Russians against Napoleon, in the "Song of the Bard on the Graves of the Victorious Slavs," and in eighteen hundred and twelve in the "Bard in the Camp of the Russian Warriors." Rostopchin, the enemy of the French, did not even await the grand crisis to empty the vials of his wrath upon them.

In general the literature of the time of Alexander marks the transition from the imitation of the ancients, or of classic French writers, to the imitation of the German or English masterpieces. The Bésiéda and the Arzamas clubs formed, as it were, the headquarters of the two rival armies, which fought in Russia the same battle as the French romantic and classic schools at Paris. Schiller, Goethe, Bürger, Byron, and Shakspeare were as fashionable as in France, because they were strange, and because they created a kind of literary scandal. If Ozérof, Batiushkof, and Derzhavin kept up the traditions of the old school, Zhukovski translated Schiller's "Joan of Arc" and Byron's "Prisoner of Chillon"; Pushkin contributed "Ruslan and Liudmila," the "Prisoner of the Caucasus," the "Fountain of Bakhtchi-Seraï," and the *Tsuiganui*, or the "Gypsies," and began his romance in verse of "Evgeni Oniégin" and the drama of "Boris Godunof" published in eighteen hundred and twenty-nine.

As in France the romantic movement had been accompanied by a brilliant renaissance of historical studies, so in Russia the dramatists and novelists were inspired with a taste for national subjects by Karamsin's "History of Russia," — a work uncritical in its methods, and indiscriminating in its appreciation of historical events, but remarkable for the brilliance and eloquence of its style, as well as the charm of its narrative. Schlœtzer had just edited Nestor, the old Kievan annalist, the father of Russian history.

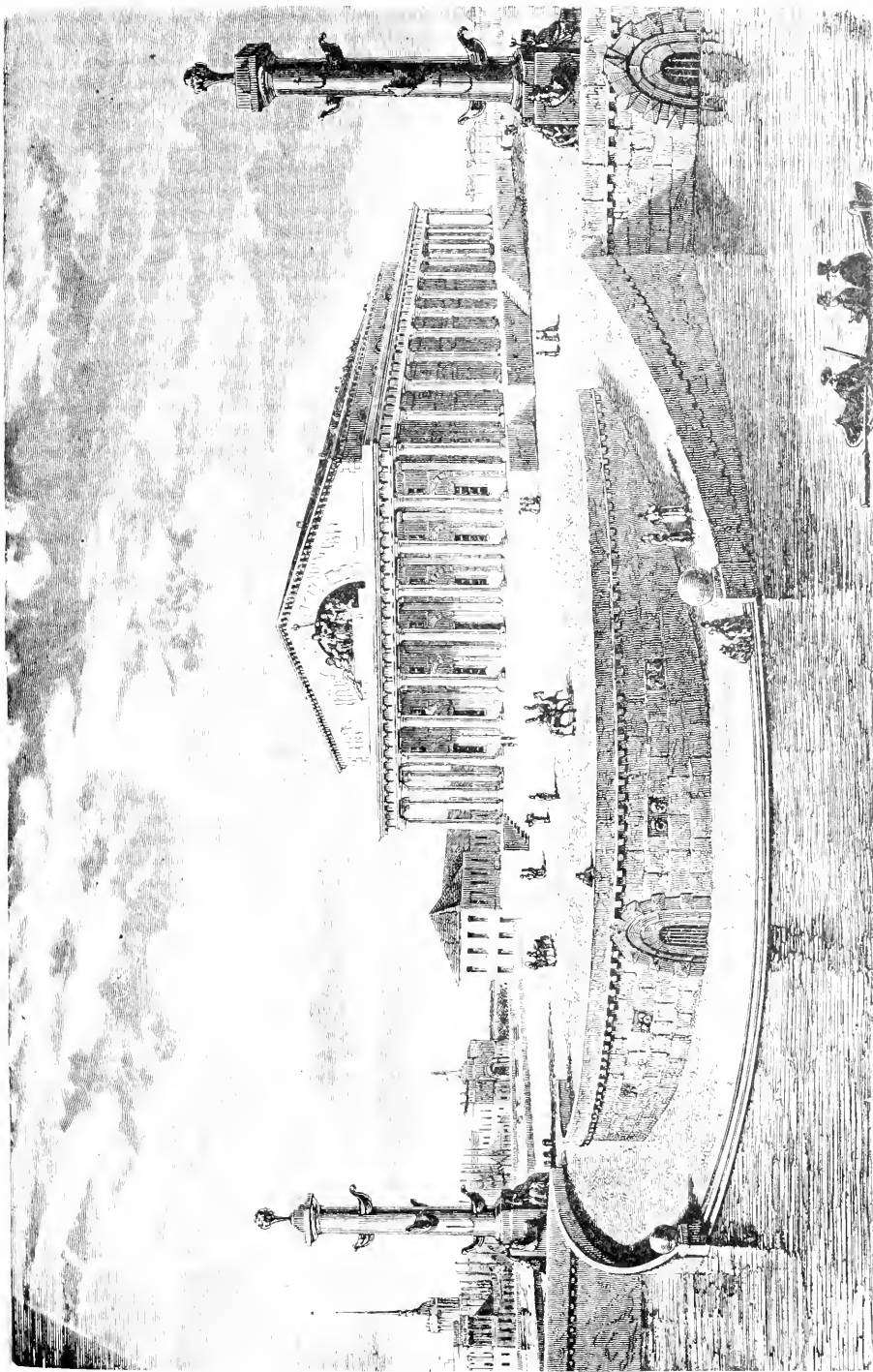
Science enjoyed a certain amount of protection in this reign. In eighteen hundred and three the Captains Krusenstern and Lisianski, accompanied by Tilesius of Leipzig and

Horner of Hamburg, accomplished the first Russian voyage round the world, in the *Nadézhda* and the *Neva*, and opened relations with the United States and with Japan. In eighteen hundred and fifteen Captain Kotzebue explored the Southern Ocean, and afterwards the icy ocean to the north, and sought by Behring's Straits a communication with the Atlantic, that is, the Northwest passage; others surveyed the coasts of Siberia, and it was ascertained that Asia was not joined to America, as the Englishman Burney had asserted.

In eighteen hundred and fourteen the imperial library of Saint Petersburg was solemnly thrown open to the public. It then contained two hundred and forty-two thousand volumes and ten thousand manuscripts. The nucleus had been formed by the victories of Suvorof, who had sent to Russia the library of the kings of Poland.

In spite of the expenses of the war, the Russian cities received embellishments. At Saint Petersburg the better-paved streets and the granite quays gave evidence of the care of the government. Thomont built the palace of the Bourse, Rosser the new Mikhail Palace, and Montferrand began the vast and splendid cathedral of Saint Isaac. Saint Peter's at Rome served as a model for Our Lady of Kazan, before which the bronze statues of Barclay de Tolly and Kutuzof were afterwards erected. In eighteen hundred and one a statue was erected to Suvorof. Poltava had its monument in honor of the victory of Peter the Great; Kief that of Vladimir the Baptist; Moscow those of Minin and Pozharski, erected in eighteen hundred and eighteen; but the plan of raising on the Hill of Sparrows at Moscow a colossal church dedicated to the Saviour, in memory of the deliverance, failed through the inexperience of the architect. The plan was carried out, though in another place, during the present reign.

Alexander, stifling the benevolent impulses which were natural to him, and listening only to the voice of foreign statecraft, had resisted the wishes of his people, and refused to



THE EXCHANGE, OR PALACE OF THE ROYAL

come to the assistance of the persecuted Greeks. The Russians therefore considered the misfortunes which clouded the last years of his life as the punishment from Heaven for this culpable indifference toward their co-religionists of the East.

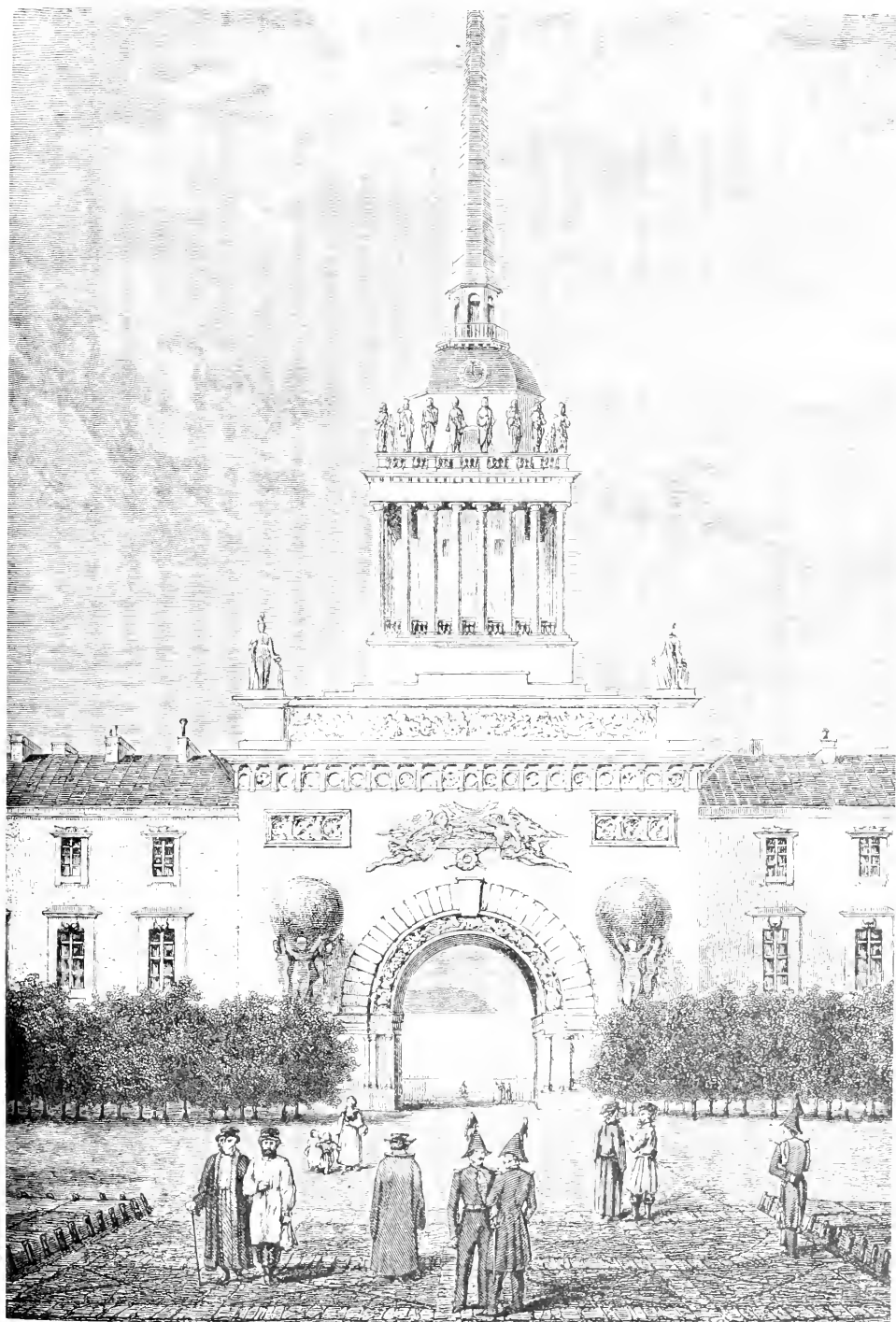
The most striking of these misfortunes was the frightful flood which happened at Saint Petersburg in November, eighteen hundred and twenty-five. The Neva is a sort of continuation of Lake Ladoga. Saint Petersburg is, in large measure, situated upon low, marshy islands, formed by the different branches of the river and by the artificial canals which were constructed for the purpose of drainage or communication. The mouth of the Neva faces the west, and is exposed to the storms which often rage over the Gulf of Finland. In such times the waters of the gulf make a sort of tide in the Neva, and are forced back between the low banks which confine them. Solid granite quays line these water-courses, and, as a general thing, prevent the catastrophes which threaten. The story is told that Peter the Great was informed by a Finnish peasant of the danger of floods when he laid the foundations of his new city; but he disregarded the warning, and cut down the girdled tree which marked the height to which the river rose two years before Sophia became regent. Since that time five or six such inundations had been recorded, but none so terrible as that which occurred the year before Alexander's death. The wind blew violently from the northwest, and the Neva rose four meters above its ordinary level. Nearly the whole of Saint Petersburg was overwhelmed. The number of lives lost was reckoned at more than five hundred, and millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed. The Emperor, who had just returned from a long journey to the Kirghiz Steppes, assisted in rescuing the unfortunate inhabitants, whose wooden houses were carried away by the waves, and he contributed munificently to the subscriptions started to relieve the distress, which was aggravated by the sudden approach of winter. Alexander's moody melancholy

was increased by this calamity ; his deafness was growing upon him ; erysipelas, causing symptoms of insanity, attacked him ; he became suspicious of his own immediate family.

The people of Europe cordially detested the Holy Alliance, which was opposed to the notions of popular liberty ; secret societies, supported by the young spirits of all nations, were everywhere in process of formation ; the universities were hotbeds of radicalism, and the students were anxious to strike at the tyranny of kings. Polaud was thoroughly turbulent, and caused Alexander constant anxiety. In spite of the arrest of Lukasinski and other members of the Polish revolutionary societies, in eighteen hundred and twenty-three, the movement still continued with ceaseless activity. The peasants in the neighborhood of Novgorod, and in other localities, feeling that their burdens were too heavy to be borne, were inclined to insurrection, and severe measures of repression had to be taken. The military colonies were unsuccessful ; both soldiers and serfs complained bitterly of their unhappy lot.

Through the communications of the young officer, Sherwood, Alexander knew something of the plot which was to involve his assassination. He gave up the plan which he had conceived of abdicating the throne, in order that it might not be said that fear of losing his life influenced him.

A still more cruel grief was added to his cup of bitterness. Alexander had been married at the age of sixteen to Louisa Maria Augusta, of Baden, who, upon her baptism into the Orthodox Greek Church, took the name Elisaveta Alexeïovna. But in the early years of their married life there was a lack of sympathy between them. Their two daughters died young, and Alexander formed an attachment with the Countess Naruishkin, by whom he had three illegitimate children, only one of whom survived. This daughter, Sophia Naruishkin, was soon to be married to a young Russian ; the wedding preparations were partly made, when she suddenly died. Alexander felt that this affliction was a chastisement for his



THE ADMIRALTY

faithlessness, and from this time he began to recognize the true worth of Elisabeth.

During the last years of his life the Emperor made extensive journeys to visit the distant parts of his empire. As the health of the Empress was delicate, her physicians ordered her to have a change of climate. She refused to go to Baden, asserting that if she was destined not to live, it was fitting for a Russian empress to die on Russian soil. Alexander decided, therefore, that she should try the milder climate of Southern Russia, and, having settled upon the port of Taganrog as preferable to the Crimea, he announced his determination to accompany her thither.

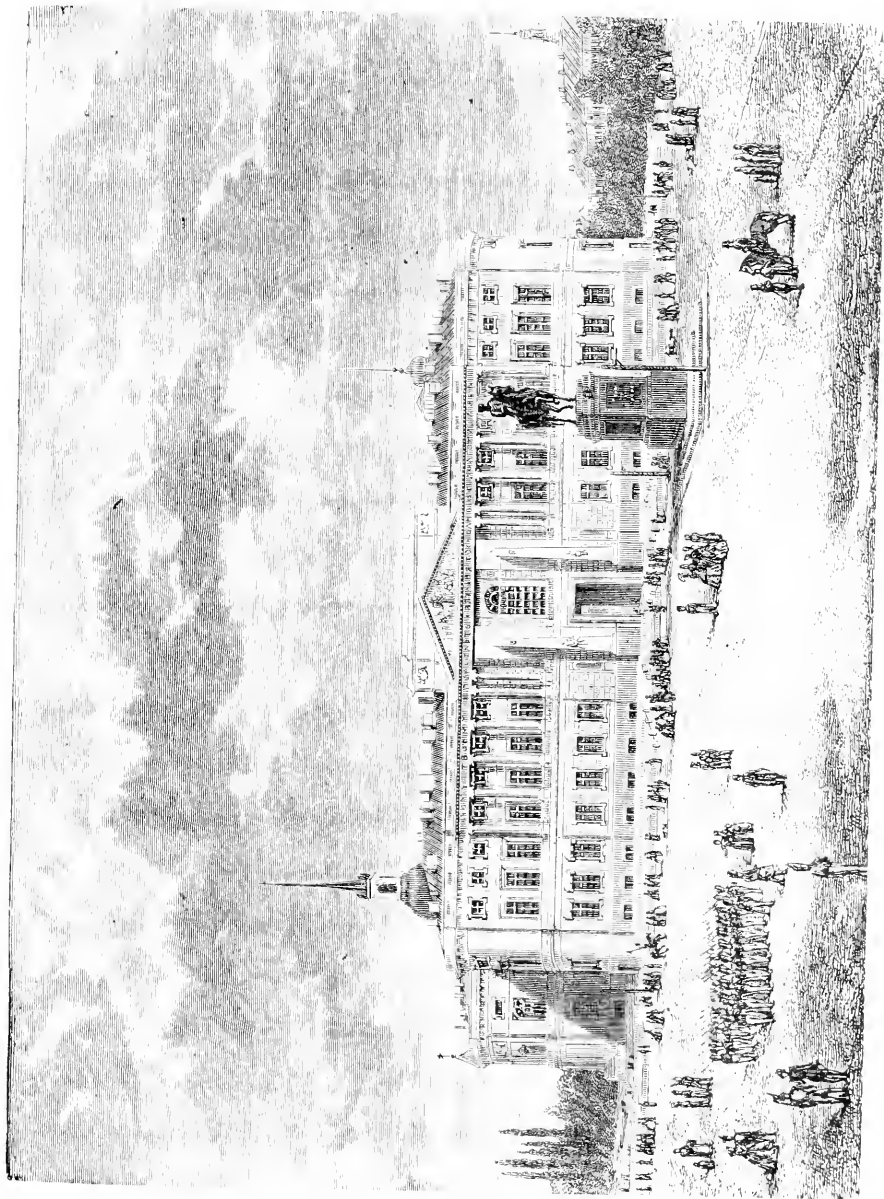
At the moment of his departure he seems to have been shaken by gloomy presentiments; in everything connected with his journey he saw prognostications of his approaching death. He left Saint Petersburg on the thirteenth of September, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, and ordered a requiem mass to be said at the monastery of Alexander Nevski, where his two infant daughters and many members of the imperial family lay buried. In broad daylight burning tapers were left in his room.

After a journey of nearly two weeks Alexander reached Taganrog. He spent the week before the arrival of the Empress in making arrangement for her comfort, and not until her health showed signs of improvement did he venture to make various excursions in the southern part of the empire. He then visited the shores of the Sea of Azof, ascended the Don for a considerable distance, and visited the capital of the Don Cossacks. It was his intention to defer his expedition to the Crimea until the following spring; but as the fine weather continued he accepted the invitation of Prince Mikhail Vorontsof, governor-general of New Russia, and, in November, left Taganrog for the Crimea. He visited the German colonists and Simferopol on his way, and also stopped at Vorontsof's romantic and beautiful palace at

Alupka. Finally he reached Sevastopol, where he reviewed the fleet, and inspected the fortifications and arsenals. In this journey he overexerted himself, and neglected the precautions which his physician advised him to take. When he reached Taganrog again, the fever of the Crimea was fixed upon him. On the anniversary of the great flood at Saint Petersburg it began to increase in violence. It was impossible to keep the Emperor from receiving from General De Witt circumstantial accounts as to the conspiracy of the South and the traitorous conduct of Colonel Pestel. "Ah! the monsters, the ungrateful monsters; I intended nothing but their happiness," he repeated over and over. Cruel recollections of his father's assassination, and the way by which he came to the throne, may have mingled with his melancholy. He thought sadly of the terrible embarrassments which he was about to bequeath to his successor; he thought of his lost illusions; of his liberal sympathies of former days, which in Poland, as well as in Russia, had ended in reaction; he thought of his broken purposes and changed life. In the Crimea he was heard to repeat, "They may say of me what they will; but I have lived and shall die republican." But what a strange Republic is the system preserved in the memory of the people under the name of "Arakhtchévchina"!

On the first of December, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, the Emperor expired in the arms of the Empress Elisabeth.

In the judgment of his contemporaries Alexander possessed many amiable qualities. "He was courteous and affable in his deportment; in his temper mild and placable; and in his habits active and temperate. His education had raised his mind above the baneful prejudices which haunt the courts of absolute sovereigns, and gave to him sympathies in the welfare of the humblest of his subjects." "As a private citizen, Alexander united all the qualities necessary to win love; as emperor, the events which occupied his cares are known to all



THE MIKHAIL PALACE

the world. The history of Europe is epitomized in his life. For a dozen years he ruled the destinies of the continent. Party spirit may dispute the services which he has rendered, but the Russian people will not hesitate to place him in the list of its greatest sovereigns. In this empire, already so vast, he incorporated, by victory or by treaty, the grand duchy of Finland, Bessarabia, the country of Persia as far as the Araxes and the Kur, the province of Biélostok, and the kingdom of Poland. He did more. By means of wisely-endowed institutions he has introduced the elements of civilization into his realm. He has prepared for the general abolition of serfdom. He has secured the good fortune of his people ; he has increased their power and military glory."

We shall now see how Russia celebrated the obsequies of Alexander the Magnanimous.

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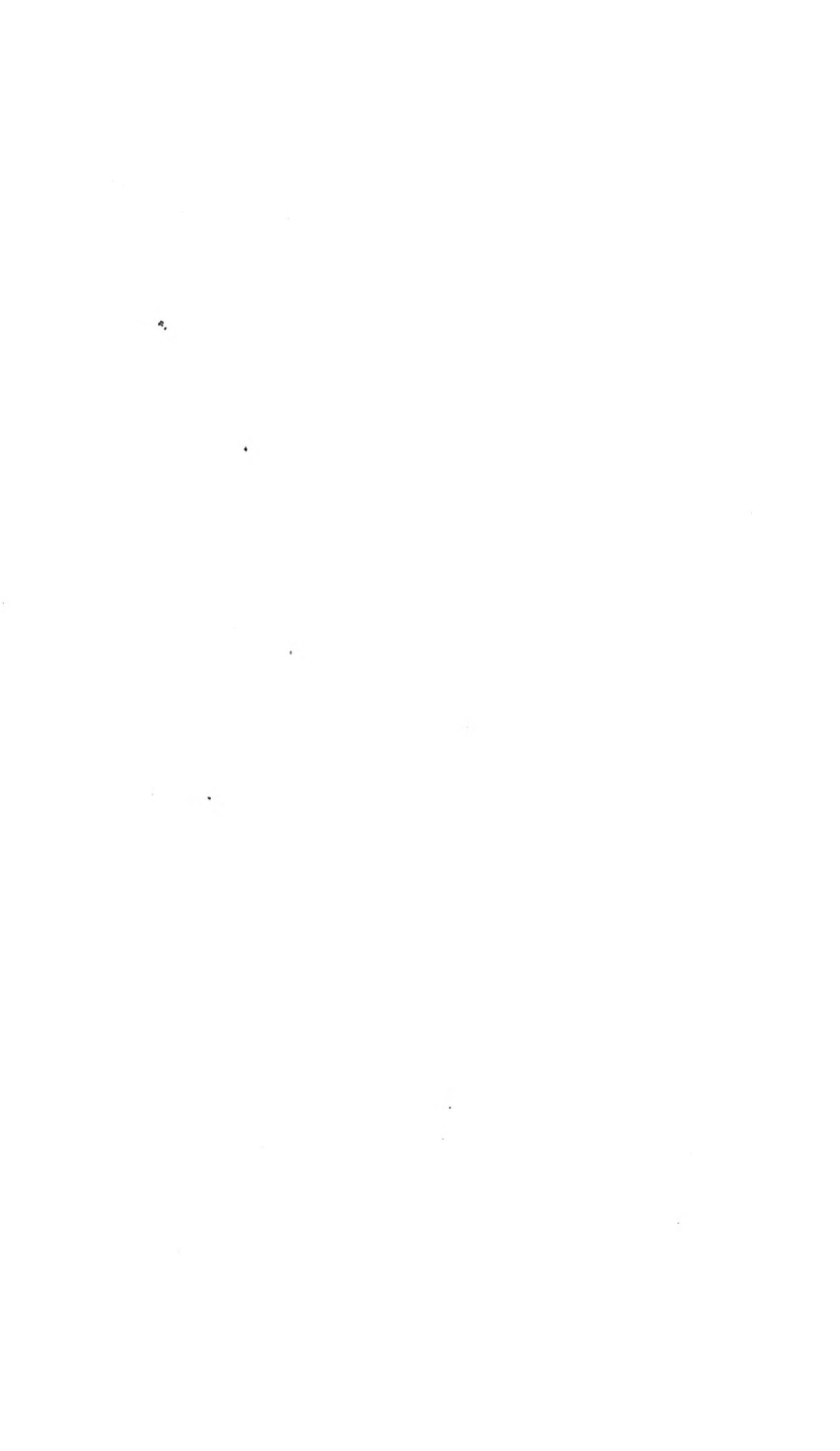
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